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# MAN

**A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE.**

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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XXXIV.

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1934.

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Nos. 1—229.

WITH PLATES A—M.

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FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

**BAKED CLAY HEADS FROM GRAVES NEAR FOMENA, ASHANTI.**

*British Museum: by permission of the Trustees. Scale in inches.*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

**Ashanti : Baked Clay Heads from Graves. With Plate A. Wild and Braunholtz.**  
**Baked Clay Heads from Graves near Fomena, Ashanti. By R. P. Wild.**

A debt of thanks is due to Mr. E. A. Burner, of the Ashanti Political Service, for his efforts in preserving and giving to the writer in March, 1933, the two baked clay heads from Fomena,<sup>1</sup> Ashanti, which form the subject of this article. These heads were obtained by Mr. Burner from Nana Kobina Fori, the Omanhene of Adansi, whose capital town of Fomena is situated in the Southern portion of Ashanti, which is known as Adansi.

It is interesting to note that Kobina Fori in his youth fought against the British in one of their campaigns against the Ashanti, 1873-74, but in the last struggle 1900-1901, though he may not have taken an active part, he remained loyal to them. These facts are of some interest as they help to date the objects concerned; for Nana Kobina Fori, who is well advanced in years, has stated that they are not made now and have not been for many years; but he remembers them being made by an old woman when he was a boy.

Though it is difficult to assess the age of an Ashanti the facts show that Nana Kobina Fori is nearly, if not quite, 80 years of age, from which it may be deduced that these clay heads were still being manufactured some 75 years ago, but probably no later. Further information from Nana Kobina Fori shows that these heads were placed on the graves of Chiefs, Elders, Councillors and Queen Mothers, that is only the most prominent members of the Adansi tribe or division. Though it should be mentioned that in one instance an informant, an Ashanti, stated that the graves of Queen Mothers were not included in this category, yet the fact that one of the heads probably represents a woman rather belies this assertion.

It is necessary to stress the point that these objects were placed on graves, a point which the writer was careful to confirm by asking the Omanhene on a former occasion and on his last visit to Fomena on July 21st, 1933. The importance will be realized when it is pointed out that the Ashanti, along with other Akan tribes, preserve a place apart from the actual burying ground, wherein earthenware figures, foodpots and other utensils are deposited for the worship of the dead; this area is termed the *Asensie* or 'the place of the pots.'<sup>2</sup> This 'place of pots' has its own ceremonies as distinct from those of the burial ground or the 'thicket of the ghosts.'

These baked clay figures thus possess not only considerable anthropological value, but their preservation provides an important link with a past custom, which like so many other Ashanti customs has fallen into disuse, owing to the advance of European influence and the consequent sophistication of the people.

It would appear that a definite religious significance was attached to this practice of honouring or supplicating the spirits of the dead by depositing these images on their graves, inasmuch that at certain times, offerings and libations were made to the spirits which were believed to have taken up their abode in the heads. For this purpose, the baked clay ladle, also from a grave (Fig. 5), was required.

<sup>1</sup> Map Reference: Obuasi Sheet. North B-30.  
Scale 1:125,000. Gold Coast Survey. K-111.

<sup>2</sup> Rattray, R. S.: *Religion and Art in Ashanti*.  
Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1927. Ch. XIV, p. 165.



Beyond the statement that yam, soup and palm wine constituted the essentials of the offerings, no other details in regard to the actual ceremony were elicited, probably owing to the lapse of time during which the custom had fallen into disuse and to the fact that so few persons know of its previous existence. However, from the data collected it may be gathered that the ceremonies performed would in most respects conform to those which have been described by Dr. R. S. Rattray, in his 'Ashanti' and 'Religion and Art in Ashanti.' As compared with the ordinary domestic pottery of Ashanti, these heads are well fired, and the clay used in their manufacture is fairly fine—coarse quartz grit being almost absent. This latter feature, together with the fineness of the clay employed, rules out any possibility of their having been made by the predecessors of the Ashanti, who made a much coarser ware, invariably mixed with grains of quartz. The heads are hollow and almost life size.

From the absence of the beard, and the smaller features, it is probable that one of the heads (Figs. 3 and 4) represents a woman. In the head of the man the width of the mouth is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches, in that of the woman 2 inches; the diameters of the conventional circular ears are  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inches respectively; whilst the noses from the bridge to the tip are  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches and  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches. The features of both heads are rather refined in comparison with the usual cast of countenance which is met with in the Ashanti race; yet this supports the statement that these are meant to represent chiefs, elders and persons of importance; for there is no doubt that the real Ashanti, especially the ruling class, show distinct signs of refinement. The base of the nose is, however, broad.

The side view shows the typical long face of the Ashanti, with an unnatural flattening at the back from the nape of the neck upwards, which gives an almost vertical profile. As this peculiarity occurs in both specimens, it is assumed that the same hand shaped both heads; and in view of the well-modelled facial features, it may be due to artistic licence.

The top of the head appears to be covered with a cloth in which case it would represent the Ashanti mourning cloth worn at funerals; on the other hand it may be that the potter has sought to reproduce a close cropped area, the shaving of the scalp being another Ashanti funeral custom.

The conventional representation of the hair is interesting, rendered, as it is, by whorls, cylinders and hollow balls. The cylinders are about one inch in length and the whorls  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch in diameter. Nana Kobina Fori when describing these heads stated that human hair was inserted into the holes in the cylinders and the balls. It was understood, but not confirmed, that this was the actual hair of the deceased. The position of these knobs on the right side may be paralleled by the practice of shaving various portions of the hair of the head found among tribes of the Gold Coast and its dependencies. So its occurrence in these two cases is not extraordinary.

The faces have evidently been coated with a red wash or clay, which was applied after firing. As red is the colour of mourning among the Ashanti and kindred tribes, this is further evidence of their funerary significance. In the male head most of the beard has fallen out; but the reason for this is not far to seek, as the pieces of clay representing the hair both here and on the scalp were formed separately and most probably applied after sun-drying.

The ringed neck of the woman is typical of the usual method of modelling that part of the body, and in this case formed a pedestal to carry the upper portion of the image. The neck of the man has been broken off, thus revealing the base of the skull, which, at its thickest part measures one inch. It is probable that the ringed neck treatment has been derived from the practice of wearing necklaces of beads or metal rings, as it is employed extensively by many other West African tribes besides the Ashanti, and in materials other than clay. The identification of the facial marks or cicatrices presents a difficulty. In the first place the true Ashanti does not raise tribal marks on his face. One theory is that these scars are marks of adornment or fancy; on the other hand, an Ashanti clerk in the political service volunteered the opinion that they were the marks of the Akim Donkor. Now the Akim, akin to the Ashanti, are known to have occupied this part of Ashanti some 75 to 100 years ago, eventually being driven out by the Adansi. Again the term *Donkor* means a slave. One wonders whether the adoption of the markings of an Akim slave was intended to prevent the recognition of the deceased by evil spirits. This method of disguise is adopted in certain circumstances by the Ashanti.

According to one informant, an Ashanti, whose position as a clerk in the political service adds support to his statement, these heads are called *Ntiri*, and it may be added here that the writer saw, on July 21st, 1933, in the Court house of the Omanhene of Adansi, three or four similar heads, which had been brought forward as exhibits in a land case, which had been taken to the Omanhene's court for adjudication. The inference was that these heads were proof of an ancestral burial site and therefore evidence of ownership of the land. As this case was only part heard, the writer was unable to obtain these particular heads.

It is interesting to relate that a similar instance of this cult may be found recorded in Vol. XXIV, No. 3 of *MAN*, March 1924. Here Mr. R. Kerr describes some clay heads, and the circumstances under which they were found, from the vicinity of Mansu near Sekondi, Gold Coast, some 35 years ago. They were deposited in the Royal Scottish Museum early in the year 1924 or sometime in the previous year. The account shows that the heads were taken from a 'graveyard' which 'was a small clearing in the bush fenced in with wattles but neglected and overgrown and which was

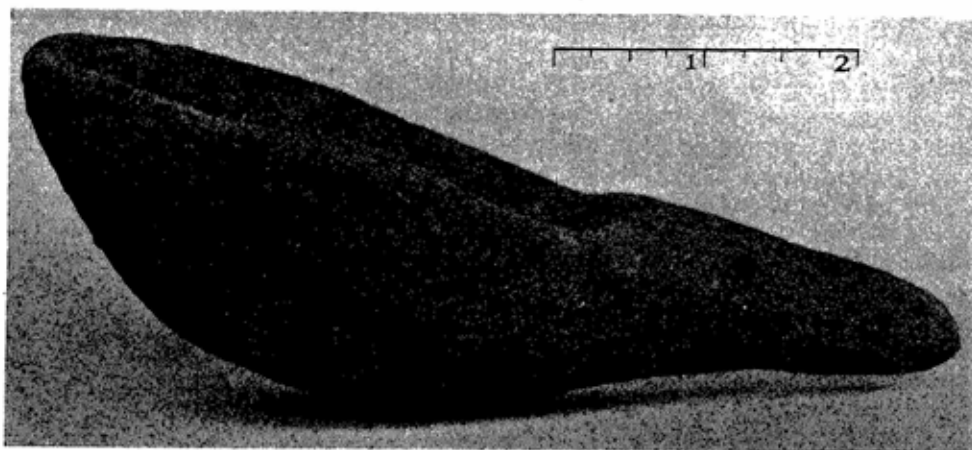


FIG. 5. BAKED CLAY LADLE FROM A GRAVE NEAR FOMENA, ASHANTI. (Scale in inches.)

'studded all over with low burial mounds on most of which were placed clay heads.' As Mansu is in Lower Wassau, Gold Coast, it is probable that this cleared area contained the cemetery of some of the Wassau, but as there are many Ahanta villages in this part of the Gold Coast, it might conceivably belong to some Ahanta people.

A further extract from Mr. Kerr's article in some respects bears out the evidence which was obtained at Fomena: "The carriers, who could not be induced to approach the graveyard . . . said the heads were very old, that they represented dead chiefs and their wives and that as such 'they were sacred.' It is probable that the carriers were not local, but of a different tribe and recruited at Sekondi, at which port, natives from other parts of the Colony and West Africa congregate. It is therefore not too far-fetched to expect that the word 'Wives' should be taken to mean 'Queen Mothers,' the more so when the far higher status of the latter is compared with that of the former. All the same, the fact that Mr. Kerr not only definitely mentions 'wives' but also illustrates his description with female figures, confirms the statement of the Omanhene of Adansi that women as well as men were venerated in this manner.

The presence of another of these cemeteries was recently brought to light by Dr. D. P. McGregor of the Gold Coast Geological Survey, who, during his tour of geological investigation covering the period December, 1932, to March, 1933, came across one near Huni Valley on the Gold Coast Railway. Huni Valley is some forty miles north of Mansu and is also in Lower Wassau. The following details of this discovery are taken from the Annual Report of the Geological Survey Department (Gold Coast) for the year 1932-33. "About nine miles east of Huni Valley near the site of the old hunter's



"camp of Kafudidi<sup>3</sup> Mr. McGregor found two female heads and a body in two parts, neck to waist and waist to trunks of legs. All these, modelled in hollow pottery are extraordinarily life-like, the striking fact being that the features are more Egyptian than Negro. They are in a good state of preservation and the hair, facial markings, head and neck ornaments are very clearly defined. At first sight the faces would appear to be cast from death-masks but their dimensions disprove this theory."

Through the courtesy of Mr. McGregor the writer was able to examine those objects which, except for the busts and legs, appeared to be similar in many respects to those which were procured from Fomena. There were raised circles and holes for hair. The necks were ringed in the usual conventional manner and the breasts were well developed. It is also important to note that in the Report stress is laid on the refinement of the features, which are described as being 'more Egyptian than Negro'; a characteristic which was mentioned in the case of the Fomena examples, described above.

The two heads from Fomena have been presented to the Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography at the British Museum.

R. P. WILD.

**Note on Two Pottery Heads from near Fomena, Ashanti.** By H. J. Braunholtz.

**2** The two pottery heads described above by Captain Wild are of considerable interest both for their intrinsic merits, and the accuracy with which they can be dated. In spite of some stylization in the treatment of the features, and the simplification of the facial contours, the general impression of the heads is lifelike and vigorous. Technologically, they appear to have been 'built' up like a pot, without the help of a mould. The firing has been sufficient to oxidize only a thin superficial layer of the clay, the interior retaining a grey colour. Small grains of quartz can be seen protruding in places.

The perforated cylinders and balls on the top of the heads have every appearance of representing beads, which may have been worked into the hair as ornaments or charms; two of the objects on the female head look remarkably like snail shells. In Figs. 58 and 60 of Rattray's 'Ashanti,' a priest and priestess appear to be wearing beads in their hair. Ashanti infants, too, had beads attached to the head as amulets.<sup>4</sup> The whorls no doubt represent hair. The arrangement of a group of hair tufts on the right side of the head, the rest of the crown being close-cropped, can be matched in a miniature brass head (possibly a gold weight), from Ashanti in the British Museum. The ringed neck (which resembles those of *Akua mma* dolls<sup>5</sup>), has a broken edge at the base, so that one cannot be sure whether or not these heads originally had bodies attached.

Dr. McGregor's account of his discovery of female heads with a broken body shows that in some cases at least complete figures were made.

In making comparisons with Egyptian facial types, it would be well to remember that West Africa, like the East, has a large infusion of Hamitic blood; specific reference to the Egyptian, as distinct from the Hamitic in general, would therefore seem to be unjustified and possibly misleading except when supported by specific resemblance.

H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ.

**Papua: Ethnography.**

**Austen and Haddon.**

**The Dance of the Gope in Kerewo.** By Leo Austen, Assistant Resident Magistrate for the Territory of Papua.

**3** Some years ago, in MAN, 1918, 99, Dr. Haddon wrote a short article on the Kerewo tribe of the Gulf of Papua, and gave several sketches, including carved oval wooden slabs, some of which were called *gopi* and others *kaiamunu* or *kaiamuru* (Fig. 5), but there were no particulars as to their usage.

Mr. W. W. Thorpe, of the Australian Museum, discussed in MAN, 1931, 60, some wooden slabs from the Purari district of the Gulf which he referred to as *gopi*, but which I pointed out could be only *kwoi* from the Purari, as *gopi* is the name of a dancing mask in that district. The confusion

<sup>3</sup> Map Reference, Tarkwa sheet. North B—30.  
1: 125,000. Gold Coast Survey. Q. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Rattray, R. S.: *Religion and Art in Ashanti*, p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* Figs. 194, 195, p. 281.

that seems to have arisen over the word *gopi* or *gope* led me to investigate the oval wooden slabs of Kerewo tribes and, as Dr. Haddon has mentioned, one finds two types of carved slabs in these village long houses (*daimowa*).

The more important slabs are called *gope* or *titiabiha*, and a third named *daimowa ebiha* has become obsolete. The *gope*, to give them their everyday name, may be large or small. One I saw was 5 feet high, and another was only 3 feet. In width across the widest part the largest *gope* was 2 feet 3 inches.

The *kaiamunu*, on the other hand, are never more than 4 feet in length and the width not more than 18 inches at its widest part. Unlike the *gope*, the *kaiamunu* has no hole in the upper part of the slab. Also, the *titi* or carving is distinguishable, the *gope* being carved in heavier relief, and, though also anthropomorphic in character, the greater part of the oval slab is occupied by a human face design, the rest of the body being crammed into the lower quarter.

It is interesting to note the word *ebiha* in *titi ebiha* and *daimowa ebiha*. This is a secondary name for crocodile, though in the case of the *gope* it means 'guardian spirit.' Later on, in my work on the Turama tribes, I hope to shed fresh light on the connection between the guardian spirit and the crocodile.

Both the *gope* and *kaiamunu* have individual names, but in the former case a new *gope* name cannot be applied to a *gope* carved for part of a clan (*gu*) which has separated from its parent village, the old name being applied to the new *gope*. *Kaiamunu*, on the other hand, have names which do not belong to the clan, and one finds new names springing up from time to time. I should say that the *gope* is the property of the clan as well as the individual, the *kaiamunu* of the individual alone.

The *gope* would seem to be in many respects similar to the *kwoi* of the Purari, and the Kerewo seem to believe each has a spirit attached to it. The names of the *gope* may be mythological ancestral names, but many are undoubtedly place-names, though I have found that place-names are often the same as mythical ancestors.

One of the uses of the *gope* is to guard the village from sickness, but its main object would seem to be its magico-religious value in warfare. It also takes a great ceremonial part in a dance called *Gibumamu* (Gibu mother—Gibu is the name of a place on the Turama, as well as a place in or near Dudi on the western bank of the Fly estuary).

The *gibumamu* dance was brought by the Kerewo from the village of Keme, at the entrance to the Omati river. The Keme told me that they brought it with them from Wimari (which is the same place as the present village of Auti on Kiwai Island in the Fly estuary). The people journeyed to Keme from Wimari and arrived there without any *gope*. Afterwards, the chief *gope*—*Baiyau* by name—travelled underground from Wimari and was followed by all the other *gope*. In Keme to-day the father of the *gibumamu*—*gibumamu abera*—is spoken of as *Baiyau*.

The *gibumamu gama* (dance) was a preliminary ceremonial to a head-hunting raid, and is not danced at the present time. A dance called the *obina* takes its place as a ceremonial, and has been evolved from the older *gibumamu*, but a certain amount of the ceremony has been deleted to fit in with modern times.

The following description of a *gibumamu* was given to me by the elders of Dopima village in the Kerewo district, and checked by other elders at Kerewo. It was taken down at the time in Motu, and translated at my leisure. Short notes were made here and there of the attitude of the raconteurs so that due emphasis could be given to parts where necessary.

#### *The Gibumamu—a Dance.*

When a large number of village pigs is available, the owners will talk with the headmen of the clan (*gu paidubu*), and these will arrange for a *gibumamu* dance to be held. After the matter has been discussed over and over again, a brother (*muduabera*) of the mother of each of the small children who are almost ready to be passed through the *buguru* initiation ceremony, meet and build a shelter of teased sago leaves (*piruhuo*) inside the *daimowa* or men's long ceremonial house. This room is called a *huomoto*, and is built on the main hall close to the *tamu* or salt-water end of the

long house. From the roof of the main house, and inside the *huomoto* shelter at the salt-water end, are hung the smaller *gope* or *titi ebihari*.

When the *huomoto* is completed, the following morning at sunrise, the small boys and girls who are to be initiated are taken into this sacred room and sit in a row along the side fringe at the bush-end (*nupu*) of the shelter. Facing them are the hanging *gope*, while on the ground in front of them is a line of skulls taken down from the *agibe* shrine (a skull-rack holding skulls taken in warfare). These skulls are all freshly painted and decorated for the occasion.

Having seated their charges, the mothers' brothers line up with drums between the skulls and the *gope*. Then begins the song of *gibumamu*.

*Gibumamu Gido.*

- Aihimu Gibu odoroi—odoroi Aihimu.  
 Boge uravi Wimari—Wimari ubugi.  
 Boge daimareruru daimareruru Boge e.e.  
 Owamu kaiwai.io Mobe owamu kaiwai.  
 5 Wino-Wabea Wino-Wabea a Wino-Wabea totoi ididi Wabea awino.  
 Busere wabeairo wabeairo busere wabeairo.  
 Aribusa Aribu iriruo. . . .  
 Agibe sa agibe iriru.  
 Wino agibe Wino agibe totoi ididi  
 10 Bobo augibobo augibobo waumi.e  
 Koromo augi damereya yabua.  
 Augi damereya iabua mere Koromo.  
 Koromo augi woriworio woriworio miri Koromo.  
 Koromo miri eabo mirieabo miri Koromo.  
 15 Mobi beda banio iopaio banio  
 Gope Gope iwuru mo soro iwuru mo soro titi gope  
 Bamu a bamuo meavibamu e.ea maevi bamu e.ea e.ea bamu  
 Meavi bamu sigiru sigiru bamuo.

Each owner of a *gope* has his own special verse (line), and each verse is chanted for some time before the next verse is sung. The verses (lines) are sung in no special order.

As each line is sung over and over again, it takes until about nine o'clock at night before the singers feel exhausted, then the mothers' brothers lead their charges to another closed-in portion of the long house. This temporary room, though in the centre of the long house (*daimowa turi*), is off the main hall in a line with the side cubicles. In this room all the initiates sleep, and it forms a seclusion room for them all the time they are not attending the ceremonies.

The following morning, each *muduabera* visits his charge and rubs the initiate's body with a black paint made from *umu* leaves mixed with salt water. During the seclusion no clothing or ornaments are worn by these novices except that the young girls are dressed in a very short grass petticoat about 9 inches wide. This petticoat is worn hanging down, and is not caught up between the legs to form a perineal covering in the usual Kerewo manner. The blackness of the bodies of the initiates is accentuated when in the *huomoto* shelter, on account of the intense whiteness of the newly-painted *gope*.

The foregoing ceremony takes place daily during the *gibumamu* celebrations, which may last from two to six months. Then, near the end of the seclusion period, food is collected for a big feast. Sago, sago-grubs, bananas, coconuts, sugar cane, fish, and a variety of edible foods collected from the forest and the sea are gathered and heaped up outside the long house. The *huomoto* shelter is taken down and during the same day the food is taken up into the long house and distributed. Dogs killed in the family houses are taken into the long ceremonial house after being cooked. Pigs are shot on the ground with arrows, and singed in the usual manner over a fire. In the olden days it was not necessary to kill the pig outright before it was singed. These pigs, after they are singed and dead, are carried into the *daimowa* and arranged in a line along the central part of the main hall, and opposite the pigs are placed mats for the initiates.

Now the children who are passing through the *gibumamu* are led into the main hall, and each is set upon the back of a pig, where the *mudumaramu* (the wives of the mothers' brothers) attend to the girls, and the *muduabera* tend the boys, as all initiates straddle the pig. Their hair is cut to fashion with a shell, and the lads have placed on them short penial aprons of hammered bark. Then their bodies are ornamented with strings of cowries, crescent pearl-shells, and white *bidibidi* shell-discs. Hornbill and cassowary feathers are placed in the hair, and conus shells on the arms. Numerous plaited fibre armbands decorated with cowrie shells also adorn the arms and legs.

The girl initiate is dressed in a red pubic covering which is used in place of the short petticoat. This covering is a long fringe of teased sago leaf dyed red, and it is stuck into the front part of the waistbelt, drawn up in between the legs and fastened in the belt at the back. Her ornaments are similar to those of a boy, but before they are put on she receives a slashing of the skin between the breasts with a clam shell. These cuts will later show up as a cicatrice.

As soon as this part of the ceremony is concluded, the pigs are taken away and cut up and distributed. The children would seem now to have risen a further stage in the social scale, and they are seated on the mats with their guardians, who have been given presents by the mothers and fathers of the initiates.

About five o'clock each evening, the *gope* are brought into the main hall, the larger and more important ones having an evening to themselves. The smaller and therefore not so important may come in two or three at a time. As each *gope* is brought in, the appropriate verse of the *gido* is sung over and over again, and later on the *gope* is placed against the inside wall of the salt water end so that it faces down the main hall.

When all the *gope* are in position, which may take five or more days according to the number, the *muduabera* takes the *gope* belonging to him and holds it by the middle of each side, his hands being in line with his shoulders. The young children cling to their guardian by means of a string attached to a hole in the side of the *gope*. Up and down the main hall of long house they dance throughout the day, and in the evening descend to the ground, and dance there until the sun has set, when they all return to the long house with the *gope* and a feast commences.

About 7 p.m. or a little later, when the feasting is finished, and it is as dark as Erebus in the long house, each *muduabera* with his charge lines up along the side wall of the main hall with the *gope* in front of him and the initiate at his side. No word is spoken by anyone. No sound is heard in the women's houses. An awful silence broods over the whole village. The *gope* with its tiny torch burning in an aperture in the upper part of the slab shows up weirdly in its whiteness. Silent as the grave, and motionless as the sacred slabs they hold, stands the row of figures. Into this darkness creep the men of the village and visitors from other parts. By and by, the great long hall is full of silent, motionless men holding drums. Perhaps 200 to 300 fighting men may be assembled.

Suddenly, the tense silence of an hour is broken by a ghostly swish-swish. It is the village headman entering, accompanied by his wife. As he creeps in, he slaps his thigh with a torch of dried coconut leaves. Up and down the long house travels this unearthly sound, pausing only when the man reaches the leader of the ceremony.

Then, like a bolt from the blue, the blackness is broken by an unexpected blaze of light from a torch lit at some smouldering fire. The torchbearer yells, and hundreds of voices in the *daimoua* break into bloodcurdling cries—at first high-pitched *i.i.i.i*, and then a lower *a.a.a*. Hundreds of drums are beaten rapidly, and the dancers whirl into lines.

All the fighting men now have torches, and the long house is a blaze of light from the hundred or so flashing torchlights. The mothers' brothers with their little charges, all agape, hold the *gope* up among the dancers. The women crowd in from the many side openings and fill up the open spaces at the sides of the cubicles. They sit, and watch the dancers, and pass remarks of admiration or gossip as they pass. The singing gets wilder and wilder; the drums keep up their monotonous reiteration. The whole *daimoua* works itself up to a frenzy, and the dance becomes an orgy in which dancers and onlookers wallow in sexual excess.

None sleep—except the small children, tired out with their amazing experiences; and then,

when day breaks, the dancers descend to the ground, carrying drums or *gope*. As they fall into line, the headman will call out and ask where they will go and fight. As various villages are named, the *gope* are turned to face in the direction of that village. Should the *gope* move, while facing a certain direction, it is decided to raid a village in that direction. During this procedure, the drums are being held in the hand, the drumhead a little below the shoulder, and, when a decision is reached, the drums are struck quickly, several times, and the *gope* placed face downward on the ground. There they are left all day, and after dark are taken to the long house, and put back in their everyday position along the walls of the cubicles at the side entranceways. These walls form the ends of the clan sections of the long house.

The day following this final ceremony, all the fighting men set off in their great war canoes to raid the village selected by the *gope*, who have already gone ahead in spirit form to overcome the enemy's spirits, and make them weak and unable to withstand the onslaught of the raiders.

*Translation of the Gibumamu Gido.*

- Line 1. *Aihimu* a legendary canoe whose mythical abode is the southern end of Turibomu (Umaidai) Island in the Turama river. The canoe has the power of changing itself into a crocodile. *Odoroi*, a poetical form referring to the canoe 'going up' the river. *Gibu*, a place-name occurring on the western bank of the Fly and Turama estuaries.
2. *Boge* (poetical form *Bugi*) and *Wimari* are names of *gope*. *Ura*, the other side of the river, i.e., referring to the eastern side as compared with the western bank.
3. The general translation is that *Boge* goes inside the ground.
4. *Mobe* is a *gope* name and the reference is to the *gope* inside the ground getting up as it wants to go and kill the enemy.
5. *Wino* and *Wabea* are *gope* names. *Totoi ididi*, apparently these *gope* make a shelter similar to a bush pig's shelter of leaves. Old men unable to give reference or legend concerning same.
6. *Busere*, a girl. *Wabeairo* is a poetical form of *abea*, the strainer used by a girl when making sago flour.
7. *Aribu*, a *gope* name. *Iriru* is a feather decoration which bobs about in the *gope* when it is being carried.
8. One translator said that the *agibe* skull shrine looks on at the feather bobbing about.
9. Another untranslatable line with references to line 5.
10. Recalls the final part of the *gibumamu* when the *gope* lie face downwards and dig into the ground. *Waumie*, poetical form of *aumi* and is a reminder that if people's mouths are shut (i.e., they don't call out the name of the *gope*) the *gope* will get angry.
11. Referring to a *gope* called *koromokoromo*, which goes into the ground.
- 12, 13 and 14. Similar references as in No. 11.
15. *Mobi*, a *gope* name. *Banio*, the beautiful red sunset.
- 16, 17 and 18. Untranslatable. *ee bamu* is a small child.

There are other lines for other *gope*, but one may say that nowadays practically all the song is untranslatable. The people are content to sing it, without understanding the meaning.

LEO AUSTEN.

**The Dance of the Gope in Kerewa.** Note on Leo Austen's paper, MAN, 3, 1934. By Dr. A. C. Haddon, F.R.S.

4 In my paper in MAN, 1918, I adopted the recognized term Kerewa for a certain group of peoples, and W. N. Beaver ('Unexplored New Guinea,' 1920) employed the same spelling. Without illustrations it is not easy to understand the distinction drawn by Mr. Austen between the *gope* or *titi ebiha* and the *kaiamunu*. The perforated carved boards of the skull shrines were called *agiba* by Beaver (p. 247) and by me; in official reports they are sometimes spelled *agibi*. I obtained the term *marabu* for miniature *agiba*, to which birds' skulls are attached in some Kerewa villages; these were without the shelf, *pepe*, on which the human skulls rest in front of the *agiba*. I collected similar objects called *gope* on Dibiri island in the estuary of the Bamu (fig. 4 *op. cit.*), and I referred to other *gope* from the same area. The term *gope* is also applied to oval boards, decorated with a human face, which are suspended in the long houses or placed in the bow of a canoe in the estuary of the Fly.



Mr. Austen refers to "the *agibe* shrine (a skullrack)," but does not state its relation to a *gope*. The smaller *gope* are called by Mr. Austen *titi ebiha* or *titi ebihara*; he says *titi* signifies carving, and *ebiha* is a secondary name for a crocodile, and he considers that in this connection it means guardian spirit. It is noteworthy that far to the west at Mawata, the word for a carving on wood is *titi*, and that for a totem is *ib̄hari*; *hibara* is the term for crocodile.

A. C. HADDON.

### Tanganyika : Technology.

Culwick.

The Hoe in Ulanga. By A. T. Culwick.

The hoes used by the Wabena of the Ulanga Valley, Tanganyika Territory, are very similar to those employed throughout the length and breadth of East Africa, and consist of a heart-shaped blade with a tang mounted in a wooden club. They differ, however, from others which I have seen, in the length of the tang, which may be as long as 18 inches or more. They are not used to-day for digging, the lighter imported variety being preferred, but numbers still exist and are handed down from father to son as heirlooms. They are known as *majembe ya malaika* = the hoes of the spirits of the dead.

Hoes were formerly used extensively as currency in Ulanga and are still to a lesser extent. I naturally thought at first that this very heavy, large-tanged variety represented a stylized type intended solely for use as currency. But this is not the case. Further investigation has shown that in the old days all were of this type, and that they were made with the large tang for a definite purpose.

Before the advent of imported iron from Europe, the Wabena of the Valley were forced to obtain their supply from the Wabena of the hills round Njombe and Mufindi. This entailed long journeys of a most hazardous nature as enemy bands of Wahehe might be encountered on the road, and it was essential to reduce the frequency of these trips as much as possible.

Now when a hoe breaks, it usually gives way at the point where the tang joins the blade, when it must be completely forged out again. But the people of the Valley were very indifferent smiths, and found this process quite beyond them. They therefore insisted that all the hoes they bought in the hills should be provided with a very large tang, so that, in the event of a fracture, their smiths could mend them in the following way.

The tang was forged over into hair-pin shape, and heated. The blade, also heated, was then slipped in between the open ends of the 'hair-pin' and the ends were hammered together with the blade between, forming a new tang which was forged to a point for hafting. The result was a hoe in which the tang was continued as two ribs, one on each side of the blade—a very strong join.

But this was not the long tang's only use. When the blade was worn out, or even before, the owner could cut off part of the tang to make an axe, adze or spearhead, an operation that was within the scope of the Valley smiths.

The Wabena of Ulanga had therefore good reason to insist that their hoes should be made with a long tang, although this had no agricultural function and was, if anything, a hindrance to the user by reason of its weight. It acted, however, as a valuable reserve of metal in a form that they could use, thus reducing the frequency of their visits into the hills and off-setting its disadvantages as an agricultural implement.

A. T. CULWICK.

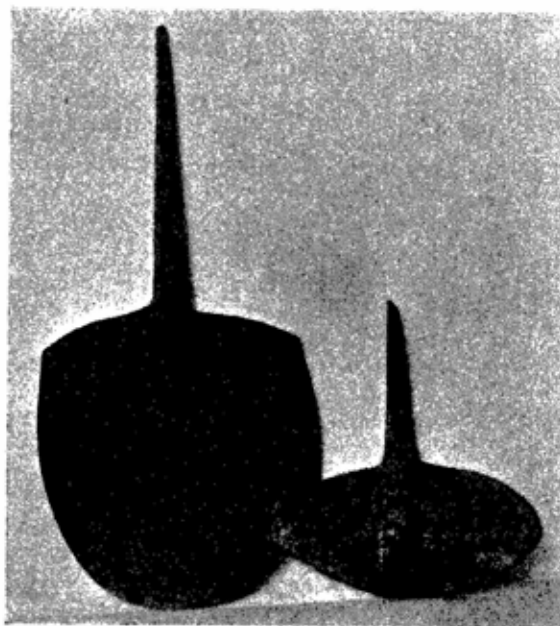


FIG. 1. HOES FROM ULANGA.

**ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.**

**Courtship and Marriage of the Siamese and Laos.** *Summary of a Communication presented by H. G. Quaritch Wales, M.A., Ph.D., 12 December, 1933.*

**6** The lecture began with a general account of the Tai institution of marriage and its relationship to other social factors. The old Siamese laws regarded marriage as a purely civil contract, and recognized four types of legal marriage, only one of which was accompanied by ceremonies, and this was usually confined to the marriage of the first or principal wife, whose offspring took a larger share of the succession. The institution of marriage among the Siamese is strongly protected by the *Law of Husband and Wife* of A.D. 1359, and the relationship of the institution to slavery before the abolition of the latter was discussed. Polygamy seems to have been an Indian importation, introduced from the nobles downwards, for the old laws clearly envisage a system of monogamy, which is still the general rule among the Laos, where the status of woman is also higher. The methods of courtship of the Siamese were then considered, mainly in connection with their poetry and their pastime of rhyme-making. From this it was deduced that though their methods are at the present time indirect, that was not always the case, nor has it ever been the case with the Laos. The marriage ceremonies of various branches of the Tai people living in Siam, the Northern Laos, the Eastern Laos, the Siamese of Central Siam and the Siamese of Southern Siam were then dealt with in detail and a considerable number of new and interesting facts were adduced which it is impossible to mention in the present summary.

Historical treatment of the Tai institution of marriage and accompanying ceremonial was particularly profitable because, unlike many of their institutions, it was not a purely foreign importation, but could, within the Tai group of peoples in Siam, be traced as it evolved from a very simple form in the North until it became highly elaborated in the South, as a result of Indian influence. Thus, while the marriage ceremonies of all branches of the Tai in Siam have many features in common such as (1) more or less long drawn out preliminaries leading to the betrothal, (2) the importance of



FIG. 1. OPEN AIR MUSEUM, SKANSEN. (Described on opposite page.)

presents of areca and betel, (3) the meeting and feasting of the relatives who act as witnesses to the marriage, (4) the performance of some rite or rites marking the sociological change and the creation of a new bond, perhaps only the simple blessing of the couple by the gathered relatives, yet in spite of these many common features, there are very important differences, which have been evolved as a result of Indian influences. In brief, the many facts brought forward enable us to conclude that as we go from North to South, we leave behind a region where marriage shows an approximation to the early Tai form which seems to have been characterized by a higher status of woman, matriarchy, monogamy, direct courtship, a simple form of ceremony mainly consisting of blessing by the relatives; and we come to a region in which the tendency is to a lower status of woman, patriarchy, polygamy, indirect courtship, strong Indian influence with complicated ritual of royal origin, while Buddhist monks are present and sometimes perform priestly functions.

### PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

**Commemoration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Arthur Hazelius, founder of the Nordiska Museet and Skansen.**

7

Arthur Hazelius was born on 30 November, 1833, at Stockholm. He was by profession a philologist and expended much energy in the cultivation and development of the Swedish language, giving particular attention to its orthography. From 1860 to 1872 he devoted himself to work for linguistic reform in Sweden.

In 1872 he began to collect objects of Swedish ethnographical interest and opened a small museum, the "Scandinavian Ethnographical Collection." For nearly 30 years, up to his death on 27 May, 1901, he worked tirelessly for the development of the museum at Skansen, now famous as the finest open-air museum in the world.

A visit to Dalarne in 1872 brought sharply to his mind the rapid changes since his earlier visits there in his college vacations. His intense love for all aspects of national Swedish culture led him to attempt to rescue and record all possible relics and aspects of traditional Swedish development. By sheer force of personality he roused others to share his interests and succeeded in raising from a small and by no means wealthy country sufficient money to erect the Nordiska Museet and the vivid and unique open-air museum at Skansen, and achieved the perhaps more difficult task of collecting from the peasants the objects which he needed. From the first the State supported his activities and since his death has continued to encourage museum services. To-day under the direction of Professor Andreas Lindblom, who kindly supplied notes on Hazelius' career, and the photographs which

accompany this article, the Nordiska Museet is undergoing rapid development. In 1932 there were more than 190,000 specimens preserved in that



FIG. 2. ARTHUR HAZELIUS.

museum, while the historical buildings at Skansen numbered 120. The influence of Hazelius on the progress of ethnography and on the development of modern museums has made itself felt far and wide beyond the borders of the Scandinavian countries.

### REVIEWS.

#### AFRICA.

**An Introduction to Egyptian Religion.** By Alan W. Shorter, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. xv + 139 pp. 8 Illustrated. Price 8s. 6d.

The object of this little book is set out very exactly in the preface, namely, to give the general reader a simple and clear idea of the main features of Egyptian religion during the 18th and 19th dynasties, a period of power and prosperity in which many magnificent

temples were built and many records made that have added much to the treasures of human knowledge. The author may be congratulated on his success in achieving his object; his facts are well tried and up to date, and his explanations are founded on the conclusions of the best-equipped scholars of to-day. His style is yet perhaps to make; it is easy and light, as suited to general reading, but may be felt at times to be too much so and an occasional weightier tone might have been advisable, also a rather less magisterial note than



that shown on p. 3 in tackling archaeologists—a folk apt to be prickly and not always so ignorant as might be inferred from this passage.

On another side, the anthropological, there is more to criticize; most of the theories explaining the obscurer parts of his subject, such as the worship of animal-gods, the relations and precedence of Amun and Rê, the offerings to the dead and so on, are informed by ideas of a past generation, founded mainly on literary and classical disciplines; in the new light provided by modern anthropology many of these ideas want, at the least, overhauling. Excursions in that direction, it is true, have not always been of the happiest, and may perhaps be answerable for the averted face of the pure Egyptologist, but sooner or later he must turn his looks that way—why not now? However, these matters provide but a small proportion of the whole, and the value of the mass, which constitutes the real subject of the book, is scarcely touched. G. D. H.

**The History of Mai Idris and his Expeditions.** By the Imam Ahmed of Bornu (in Arabic). Published by the Emir of Kano's Press. 1932.

9 This is an edition of one of the MSS. brought by Heinrich Barth to Germany in the middle of last century, with an introduction, facsimiles of four pages of the original and some notes, in English, by Mr. H. R. Palmer, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Northern Provinces, Nigeria, now Governor of Gambia Colony. It is written in the somewhat childish and ungrammatical style of these African chronicles and, as Mr. Palmer points out, cannot be taken as sound material for history, although its story is evidently connected with the true course of events. The author endeavours to connect his personalities with conspicuous ones of early Islam—a pardonable weakness if we consider the similar efforts of most early chroniclers, in England as elsewhere. The traditional founder of the princely line was Saif ibn dhu Yezan, the hero of a long romance, popular among Cairene rhapsodists, which makes Saif the virtual creator of Egypt, for, among many marvellous feats, he broke down, by his mighty magic, the rocky barrier holding the waters of the Nile from the country.

G. D. HORNBLLOWER.

**Myths and Legends of the Bantu.** By Alice Werner. London: Harrap, 1933. 9 x 5½ in. Pp. 335. Price 15s.

10 Dr. Werner in her preface pays tribute to 'all sorts and conditions of observers' whose 'collections of folk-tales pouring in from every quarter of what used to be called the Dark Continent' have made it possible for her to give us this intensely interesting and enlightening book. She singles out 'grave divines' and 'respectable Government servants' as the two classes of people most largely responsible for this source-material. One therefore commences to read the book in expectation of a varied diet though, perhaps, with a passing query as to the scientific value of gravity in divines and respectability in Government officials. An appended bibliography shows, at any rate, to what an extent the study of African folk-lore is, as she says, indebted to the missionary and, in lesser degree, to the official, whether grave and respectable or not.

The book is definitely for the general reader but it is, at the same time, full of material for the student. The author most wisely opens with a short general introduction on the Bantu as a people, and follows this with five chapters which group together at the very outset a body of material which provides what one might describe as a bird's-eye view of a Bantu Old Testament—man's origins, the coming of death, the 'heaven-country,' and the 'ghost-country.' One rather wishes

that the term 'ghost' had been discarded for 'spirit' in this section, since its use here is confusing over against the separate need for it when dealing with the non-ancestral apparition elsewhere. One is glad to note, however, the firm way in which Miss Werner deals with those who mis-translate local 'spirit'-terms, as, for example, on p. 192 in connection with Dr. Doke's use of 'devil' for *chiwanda*.

Particular attention may also be drawn to Chap. XVI on "Doctors, Prophets and Witches"; not on account of the extent of ground covered or the amount of material presented, which in both cases is relatively slight, but on account of the wisdom of certain things Miss Werner has to say. This chapter is much more than a catalogue of African beliefs and it opens with a paragraph which will be widely acceptable to all who, at this time in Africa and in this country, are striving to drive home the facts regarding the witch-doctor and his place in Bantu society.

The main core of the book is concerned with the general body of myth and legend as these centre round certain 'type-stories.' One is struck again in reading, as one was frequently struck when in actual contact with African men and women in their villages, with the genuine and simple beauty of so much in African thought and in the ways by which this thought is expressed. Throughout the whole of this main part of her book Miss Werner never allows the vast mass of her material either to clog the narrative or to burden her style. Many points arise upon which one would like to raise a question, discuss an issue, or even, here and there, to suggest some possible alteration or emendation. The space available for this review is, however, too limited to permit of this here. I may, nevertheless, venture an expression of regret that the illustrations accompanying the text are sometimes rather difficult to link up with the subject matter. It is, for instance, interesting to see at p. 228 'Inyanga Yezulu' warding off a hailstorm but there are other pictures which one would gladly have exchanged for even one of, say, Mr. Guy Taylor's 'common earthenware object . . . which the natives declare is an egg laid by lightning,' (p. 224).

In the concluding chapters we have the Hare Stories and the Tortoise Stories, grouped against the Brer Rabbit and Brer Tarrypin background, with a final chapter entitled "Stories that have Travelled." Here, of course, Miss Werner is in her element. Anyone who has any experience in this particular field will share her regret at having to leave so much material untouched, but everyone will be grateful to her for wise selection and excellent general treatment.

A concluding word of thanks is due for the map at the end which shows Bantu tribal distribution, and for the lovely and wholly fitting dedication. T. C. Y.

**The Gold Coast, 1931.** By A. W. Cardinall. Accra: Govt. Press. 265 pp., 6 maps.

11 **A Bibliography of the Gold Coast.** By A. W. Cardinall. Accra: Govt. Press. 384 pp., in 15 sections.

Here is a very careful, and yet extremely interesting study of the Gold Coast from the following points of view:—

*Geographical*—a vivid account of the different sorts of country to be found within its scope.

*Historical*—wherein the writer gives succinctly all that is known of the history of those parts from the early myths and traditions to the end of 1930.

*Ethnographical*—here the grouping is mainly linguistic, while the anthropological side is confined chiefly to the discussion of religion and land tenure.

*Economic*—largely statistical, showing the development in the mining of gold and other minerals. The section on agricultural products is especially instructive, as it shows how the introduction of the cocoa plantation has disorganized both the mode of living of the natives and the topography of certain parts of the country; for, in order to cultivate cocoa on a large scale, one has to deforest the countryside, and this leads later to erosion of the soil.

*Census, 1931*—the author, being himself Chief Census Officer, is here able to give us a good insight into the methods of inquiry.

*Social conditions*—this might almost be regarded as a continuation of the anthropological section of the book. The author describes housing conditions, water supply, infant mortality and its causes, cost of living, etc., both with regard to those living in the aboriginal way and who have been revolutionized by intruding Western commercialism.

*Non-native population*—containing some interesting statistics concerning causes of death. It is interesting to note here that in a country which was once called the 'white man's grave,' 60 per cent. of the deaths among the Europeans may now be put down to 'tropical causes.'

Each section of this book is well illustrated by a very clear and detailed map, which enhances the value of the work considerably. Doubtless expense in production prevented the author from illustrating the book still further by photographs.

The bibliography, which must be regarded as a companion volume to the above, is arranged in fifteen sections. Sections 1-6 give period literature between the sixteenth century and 1931. The remaining sections deal with missions, anthropology, linguistics, parliamentary papers, maps, newspapers, bibliographies, climate and economics—the last-named having thirteen subsections of its own. A. N. TUCKER.

## METALLURGY.

**Man and Metals: a history of Mining in relation to the development of Civilization.** By T. A. Rickard, A.R.S.M., D.Sc. London and New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1932. 12 2 vols., 8vo. xiv + 1068 pp., frontispiece, 108 figures, and 15 maps. Price 50s.

Dr. Rickard has communicated to our Journal and to others a number of papers dealing with problems concerned with the early knowledge and use of metals, and may be looked upon as one of our chief authorities on this subject. In the work under review he has gathered together the fruits of many years' study and investigation, thereby producing two volumes packed with valuable information on the history of metallurgy.

After a somewhat philosophical introduction, he begins with a brief account of the Stone Age, an adequate summary, which, however, strangely omits any mention of the Mesolithic Age, and in consequence expresses views on the Neolithic that are not quite in consonance with those recently advanced by most prehistorians. When he reaches the discovery of metals he is on surer ground, and his following chapters contain a wealth of little-known information, especially as to the relatively early use of brass, and the terms used for this alloy, as well as the meaning that the word has conveyed at different times. He protests, very justly, against the too frequent custom of using the terms brass and bronze inaccurately at the present day. The early use of gold, silver, copper and tin is very fully dealt with in the remaining chapters of the first volume, which carries the story down to the close of Roman times. In the first four chapters of the second volume he continues

this story down through the Middle Ages to modern times, and in the next he deals with coal.

Perhaps the most interesting section is Chapter XV, on 'The first use of iron.' In this the author has dealt very fully with the nature and working of meteoric iron, and has adduced evidence of early experiments in using this material, not only from Egypt and Mesopotamia, but from pre-Columbian America. He is, perhaps, inclined to attribute too many objects to this source, for there is no reason why the blade of Tutankhamon's dagger and the prize offered at the funeral games of Patroclus should not have been of the ordinary metal. In this chapter he has assembled a vast array of facts and opinions on the early use of this metal, but he has, unaccountably, made no reference here to the two valuable papers by Gowland, that in *Archæologia* and his Huxley Memorial Lecture, though he has quoted the latter on the subject of the discovery of bronze. He concludes that iron was first worked in or near Asia Minor, but he has not pursued this inquiry as far as was possible on the basis of Gowland's evidence.

In spite of these few slight criticisms the work is most valuable to those interested in the history and evolution of civilization, for in it they will find a great store of material not easily accessible elsewhere. The statements made are all well documented, though reference is not invariably made to the original source of the information. These references are not the least valuable part of the volumes, though note 58 to Chapter XV seems not to deal with the statement to which it is appended.

There are a number of illustrations, all of real value and not inserted merely to brighten the pages, while the fifteen maps are very well selected. We may congratulate both author and publisher on the production of a work that will supply a long-felt want. H. J. E. P.

## EUROPE.

**The Race Biology of the Swedish Lapps. Part I. General Survey. Prehistory. Demography. Future of the Lapps.** Edited by Professor H. Lundborg and Dr. S. Wahlund, with the collaboration of the staff of the Swedish State Institute for Race Biology, and Professor K. B. Wiklund. Uppsala, 1932. Price 60 Swedish kroner.

It is impossible to review a book of this nature in the space to which the reviewer is necessarily restricted, and a bald indication of its contents can alone be given. 'The Racial Characters of the Swedish Nation,' published in 1926, provided a comprehensive survey on anthropometric lines of the body characters of the existing population of Sweden from which a reliable knowledge of its racial constitution could be obtained. This was, after that furnished by the census, the most essential information required by a national institute for race biology. The present volume provides the results of a comprehensive survey of the demography of the Swedish Lapps and its second part, which will be published two years hence, if funds permit, will deal with 'un nombre de questions médico-biologiques.' A general survey of the people and a short account of what little is known of their prehistory form an introduction to the main subject, which is the vital statistics principally of the nomad Lapps, but partly also of the settled communities which are mainly non-Lappic, in four parishes of the Swedish province of Lappland. The data were taken from the parish records which are said to have been kept with meticulous care since about 1750. The clerical registers give particulars of births, marriages, deaths and removals and, in addition, there are the so-called population registers which supply catalogues of the members of households and their

relationships. It was thus possible to compile statistics of families as well as those relating to the population as a whole. The period covered is from 1791 to 1890. It is surprising to find that the mortality (for all ages) among the nomads was by no means high, the death-rates being such as "might well have been found, for instance, in any European country during the nineteenth century." Detailed comparisons are made between different age, sex, secular, social and territorial groups. The nomad women show a significantly higher mortality in conjunction with childbirth than the settled, and for the period 1841-90 a wife, belonging to the former group, who gave birth to a child ran a risk of at least 1 in 50 of dying within one month. The infant mortality was also high among the nomads. The mean age at first marriage was higher than would have been expected, though lower for the nomads than for the settled population, and the fertility was also lower for the former group, for which the remarkably low sex-ratio of 98.8 is found. The probable causes of this unusual excess of female over male births are discussed. The fertility of the nomad Lapps was comparatively low, but for as long as the records extend there is evidence of a balance between births and deaths which indicates an increasing population. The apparent decline in the number of Swedish nomad Lapps, suggested by the census reports, is supposed to be due both to emigration to Norway and to intermarriage with the adjoining settled population. It is obvious that this volume—the second major publication of the Swedish State Institute for Race Biology—is a most valuable contribution to the biological history of a racial strain which is still virile, though it is rapidly losing its integral identity. It is sumptuously produced and all the statistical tables, of which there are several hundred, are given. G. M. M.

**A History of the Georgian People, from the beginning down to the Russian conquest in the nineteenth century.**

**14** By W. E. D. Allen, with an introduction by Sir Denison Ross. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1932. xxiv + 429 pp. Frontispiece, 30 plates, 41 text illustrations, 2 sketch maps, and 3 folding maps at the end. Price, 31s. 6d. net.

In his introduction Sir Denison Ross has pointed out that there is no reliable and easily accessible book on Georgia in any West European language, for M. Brosset's great work is rather a collection of materials towards a history than itself a history, while Baddeley's work only begins with the Russian conquest. Mr. Allen has, therefore, placed us under a debt of gratitude in producing this admirable and well-documented volume, covering the whole field up to the date at which Baddeley begins.

The volume is divided into five books, only two of which deal strictly with the history of the kingdom from early mediæval days to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The parts that most concern the anthropologist are the remaining three: Book I, entitled 'The Background,' Book II, 'The People and the Power,' and Book V, 'The Life of Georgia.'

In Book I the author discusses the prehistoric archaeology of the region and the linguistic problems involved, and at the outset he tells us that he has "neither the archaeological nor the philological qualifications necessary to the serious study of the earlier periods." He has, however, gathered together all the archaeological information available, though he has, perhaps wisely, not endeavoured to offer any original interpretation of the facts, but quotes extensively the views of Minns, Rostovtzeff and others. The same is true on the philological side, though here he quotes with approval the

views of Professor Nikolai Marr, whose works have only appeared in Russian, and from these it appears that the Georgian language belongs to a group that Marr calls Japhetic, which seems to be the equivalent of what is known here as Asianic, since in this group he includes all the Hittite dialects. Marr also suggests that Georgian has some affinity to Basque. The chapter on the geographical background is one of the best in the book.

In Book IV the author has much to say about the clan organization of the people and the gradual, though partial, breakdown of the system, a certain amount on the land tenure, about which we would gladly have learned more, and the arrangements made for government and the administration of justice. The last book is mainly concerned with art and literature.

Mr. Allen is evidently not only familiar with all that has been written about Georgia in the languages of Europe, but has become acquainted with the tongue of the country, in which there appears to be a great body of historical literature; he seems also to have consulted Arab and Persian sources. The book is well and clearly written, but the vast array of proper names, in an unfamiliar and not easily pronounced tongue, makes many parts of it difficult reading.

The volume is well got up, the illustrations, which include reproductions of a number of sketches made in the seventeenth century by Castelli, are as well selected as they are admirably produced, while the maps are useful, though they would have been better had the more prominent physical features been depicted.

H. J. E. P.

**ARCHÆOLOGY.**

**The Old Stone Age: A Study of Palæolithic Times.** By M. C. Burkitt. Cambridge: University Press. 1933. Pp. 254. Price 8s. 6d.

**15** In the last six years our whole outlook on the Old Stone Age has been revolutionized. The purely evolutionist standpoint which this branch of archaeology inherited from the geologists who founded it, has been finally abandoned. The systematic exploration of South Africa, Kenya, Egypt, Palestine, India and China has begun to put the results of earlier investigations in Europe in their proper perspective and to reveal the imperfections in the framework built up on a single small country. And even in Western Europe continued specialist studies on pleistocene geology and climatology have modified the chronological scheme offered by Penck and Brückner. The legion of text-books (and popular works based thereon) has as a result become so antiquated in outlook as to be useless except as a storehouse of facts which only the specialist, armed with the new knowledge, can safely use.

The book under review represents the first attempt, apart from Menghin's monumental but somewhat tendentious 'Weltgeschichte' to envisage palæolithic times from the modern standpoint. It is true that Burkitt only covers the old ground of Western Europe; the new African, Asiatic and even Central European material is not seriously described, an omission which, though regrettable, was inevitable in view of the format of the series to which the book belongs. But he continually treats the European material with reference to, and in the light of, the wider field which he clearly knows so well.

But the book is more than a restatement of the old facts from the new standpoint and enriched by fresh discoveries. The author has taken up his own independent attitude to recent specialist contributions. For instance, the Hunstanton boulder clay is equated with Würm II, not with Würm I, as Boswell suggested; here again the size of the work leaves no scope for justifying

this perfectly correct identification. Then the old typological classification has become more human and less geological. The absurd designation 'points' is replaced by the intelligible 'knife-blades' in the case of the Audi, Châtelperon and Gravette types (but is not the 'Font Robert point,' also a knife—tanged?).

We have then at last a reliable and concise outline suited to the needs of the university student and serving as an ideal introduction to a study of palaeolithic times by any intelligent reader. The types which have to be recognized are clearly illustrated by Mrs. Burkitt's artistic and also scientific drawings. I have, however, found that the particular forked-base lance-point selected is too like a split-base point for the average student to whom an original is not available. And the peculiarities of a Clactonian flake can be better brought out by the addition of a side view. May we hope that this little primer is only a prelude to a larger and more comprehensive work which will survey the whole field of the old world and be accompanied by an adequate documentation?—a new edition of *Prehistory* in fact? That is badly wanted both in the Empire and in America, and Mr. and Mrs. Burkitt could give it us.

In the light of that hope and the prospect of a new issue of the present work, may I add one or two suggestions? In view of the importance attached to the blade as almost the hall-mark of neanthropic cultures, it would be well to insist on the laborious preparation of the core entailed in the production of blades. An absurd misprint attributes the East Spanish art to "Capsian rather than upper palaeolithic" (my italics)! But in any case I can find no real evidence for Capsians in Spain (though I am personally attached to the theory); the painters might just as well have been, let us say, 'Sbaikians.'

V. G. C.

**Le Paléolithique Ancien Stratifié à Rās-Beyrouth.** (Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth. Tome XVI, fasc. 5.) By P. A. Bergy, S.J. **16**

Any serious attempt to correlate the archaeological and geological records is always interesting, and Father Bergy is to be congratulated on having produced a noteworthy piece of work. Even should it turn out that some of his interpretations of the evidence have to be slightly modified, none the less he has given us a number of new facts and drawn attention to an area where his own investigations (which will doubtless be continued and amplified in the future) have opened a further line of study in prehistoric research in Syria.

Along the sea shore occur a number of different deposits, among which can be distinguished ancient dunes formed at a time when the actual strand occupied a somewhat different position to its present one, as well as more modern dunes which, of course, stratigraphically overlie their predecessors. Father Bergy is especially concerned to relate earth movements and a conjectured glaciation in the neighbouring highlands during quaternary times with these coastal deposits in which he has discovered industries referable to various cultures. It is thus possible to suggest a definite geological dating for the various loams, alluviums and dune deposits found in terms of earth movements and local glacial phenomena, and at the same time to correlate the deposits with the archaeological finds associated with them. Of course, it is just here that difficulties in interpretation can arise; anyone who has had to deal with successive coastal sand deposits, etc., knows well that two apparently identical beds in two areas may actually be of quite different dates. At the same time it must be said that Father Bergy seems to have made out a good case for a great part of his claims, and it is

only to be hoped that he will continue on the lines on which he has begun. There are a number of quite good illustrations.

M. C. BURKITT.

**Volkskundliche Bibliographie für das Jahr 1927.** Hoffmann-Krayer, E., edited by Geiger, P. Berlin and Leipzig, 1933. 9 x 6 in. 342 pp. Waller **17**  
de Gruyter & Co. RM. 24. Cf. MAN, 1933, 109.

Those who have used the previous volumes of this series will be glad to know that, thanks to the Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, and to the labours of Drs. Hoffmann-Krayer and Geiger, a further and very much fuller volume is now available. The system of classification is the same as in previous years; fewer periodicals have been indexed, though some new ones, e.g., 'Etnolog' (Laibach) have been included. There are some surprising omissions from the list of publications catalogued, e.g., 'Africa,' 'The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,' 'MAN.' The increasing difficulty of following the vast output of modern research points to an ultimate international cataloguing bureau to cover all publications, but till that eventuates such efforts as the above are invaluable: no ethnographical or folklore library can afford to overlook it.

R. M. F.

**Voodoos and Obeahs: Phases of West India Witchcraft.** By Joseph J. Williams, S. J. New York, 1932. 257 pp. **18**

The whole of this book is summed up in a sentence from the Introduction: "Technically, not only "are Voodoo and Obeah specifically distinct, the one from "the other, both in origin and practice, but . . . we "must dissociate them from the countless other forms "of magic, black or white, that have gradually impinged "upon them." Both Voodoo and Obeah are, according to the author, derived ultimately from Africa, though from different parts of that continent. Voodoo (Voodoong or Vo-doun = Fetich) is essentially a snake cult, practised by the people of the Guinea Coast and adopted from them by their conquerors, the Dahomans. It was exported by means of the slave-traffic to the West Indies, more particularly to the islands under French domination. The correct sacrifice in Voodooism is a goat, but in the wilder rite of Don Pedro, introduced into Haiti in 1768, the sacrifice is a pig. In both Voodoo and Don Pedro there is a ritual dance, danced without instrumental music, but the Don Pedro was fiercer and more drunken than that of Voodoo, and the whole ritual more savage and bloodthirsty. Obeah (or Obi) comes from Ashanti and is essentially witchcraft. This was brought by the slave-trade to Jamaica, and with it came another ritual known as Myalism. In origin Obeah and Myalism were opposed to one another, Myalism counteracting Obeah. Later on, they combined together so that now there is some difficulty in distinguishing them, "the forces of Myalism and Obeah "have degenerated into a common form of witchcraft." Myalism, however, began as the old religious dance, while Obeah was not a form of worship, but was concerned only with magic. This book should be extremely useful to those who study the clash of culture. The degeneration of Voodoo and Myalism and the connection of the latter with Christian Revivalist meetings is interesting, though allowance must be made for the prejudices of one church when dealing with the doings of another.

M. A. MURRAY.

**Alcohol and Man.** Ed. by Haven Emerson, M.D., and six assistant editors. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1932. vii + 451 pp. Price 18s. **19**

The tale is old, traditionally at least as old as the flood; and the conclusions of the later Hebrew scriptures



have not been materially modified. Wine is not for kings or princes as it darkens counsel, but is recommended for those of a heavy heart that they may forget their sorrows. Later work only dots the i's and underlines the note with a wealth of statistics.

The present book is a study from many angles intended to reveal facts without drawing implications: physiological, pharmacological, genetic, psychiatric and demographic aspects are all considered. Physiologically alcohol is a narcotic, pharmacologically it receives little praise save as a solvent and as suitable stimulant in small doses for the aged. Psychologically it is an inhibitor of inhibitions, hence its use in social gatherings and its danger in excess. Mental disease and social distress are said to exist to an extent proportionate to

alcoholic consumption. On the other hand, the writer of the section on genetics concludes that "it is highly improbable that the quality of human stock has been at all injured or adversely modified by the long use of 'alcohol,' and the author of the section on 'experiments on healthy persons' completes his narrative with 'the habitual use of alcohol in moderate amounts by the normal human adult appears to be without any permanent organic effect deleterious in character.'" The book is well documented and full of ammunition for both parties in the age-long controversy, none of the authors, however, has put the main reason for the persistent use of alcoholic beverages, despite all obvious demerits, so picturesquely as the biblical phrase—it maketh glad the heart of man.

F. C. S.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### Pots and Pies.

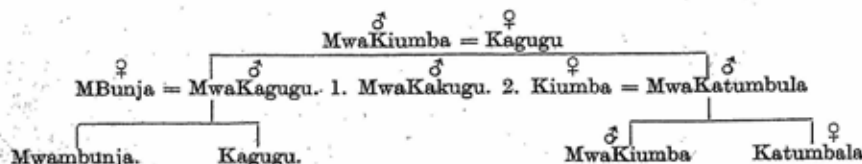
**20** SIR,—Reading the article on 'Pottery-making 'among the Bakonjo' (MAN, 1933, 202) there came vividly to my recollection the day when it rained ceaselessly and I squatted for warmth in a draughty log hut at Kolashin, Montenegro, and watched a Montenegrin woman making a sweet dish for Sunday. She mixed and kneaded some pastry into a lump in the usual manner. But she did not take a rolling pin and lightly roll the lump to the required size. She sat beside a large flat, round, copper baking-dish, tinned inside. She took up a handful of the pastry and started rolling it between her hands into a long, long rope. She then started in the centre of the baking dish and coiled the pastry rope round and round, in the manner of primitive pot making, till the bottom of the dish was covered; she built up the sides of the tart similarly; wetted and flattened the surface. The tart was then swamped with a thick syrup of sugar and water and baked. For pots, this system is all very well. But for pies—every bit of air is squeezed out. There resulted a tough and leathery mass, calculated to give bellyache to a hippopotamus, but esteemed delicious.

The clay baking-dishes for bread used in Albania and Montenegro were formerly built up of clay in this manner and may still be, for all I know.

M. E. DURHAM.

### Name Giving among the WaSokile.

**21** SIR,—I enclose herewith a note given to me by one of my students who has considerable African experience and is a reliable man. These people are found in the Fungwa District of the Province of Iringa, Tanganyika Territory, North of Lake Nyasa. When a woman marries and has male issue, all her sons take her name with the prefix 'mwa' (= of) and when these men marry, their daughters take their father's name with the same prefix. To avoid confusion, another name is assumed which may be deliberately chosen, or be bestowed as a nickname or given for some other cause. Thus



The sons take their mother's name and the daughters take the name of their father. In the next generation, therefore, the names return.

T. C. HODSON.

### Momiyai (see MAN, 1933, 163).

**22** SIR,—The last word on *momiyai* has probably not yet been said; and the following notes may help to elucidate the question. Capt. Gordon thinks that 'mummy' has no true connection with *momiyai*. But it seems that 'mummy' (= a preserved body) is derived from "a word which appears in Arabic as *mūmīd*, and means 'bitumen.'" (Guide to Egypt. Coll. in B.M., 158), so that strictly the word should be applied only to bodies preserved in bitumen. And it seems highly probable that the *momiyai* which was a black liquid and healed wounds was really nothing more than bitumen, "a fat, sulphureous, tenacious, inflammable substance" (Martyn on Verg. G. III. 451), which was much used in antiquity as a medication. Vergil recommends it for sheep-scab (*loc. cit.*); and Pliny has a long passage in which he credits it with the properties ascribed to *momiyai* in the "Makhzan-i-Adwya": "*Utuntur . . . item ad scabiem iumentorum . . . Vis [bituminis] quae sulfuris: sistit, discutit, contrahit, glutinat. . . . Sanguinem sistit. Vulnere colligat. Glutinat nervos.*" (N.H. XXXV. 51.) In modern times the Arabs of Mesopotamia used it for skin-diseases of camels. (Layard, 'Popular Account of Nineveh,' 1854, p. 270). The properties of bitumen no doubt were responsible for its use in spells, as in Verg. E. VIII. 80-83:

"*Limus ut hic durescit, et haec ut cera liquescit.*

"*Uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore.*

"*Spargere molam et fragiles incendere bitumine lauros.*"

To compare with the artificial preparation of *momiyai*, I find the following note: "At one period [in Egypt] the dead were embalmed in honey<sup>1</sup>; the treatment of the child who was found in a sealed jar of honey, mentioned by the Muhammadan writer, 'Abd al-Latif, and the body of Alexander the Great, being well-known instances of the custom." (B.M. Egyptian Guide, 162.) Whether this child was intended for *momiyai*, we are not told; but the similarity is suggestive.

G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently sometimes a Spartan custom: Plutarch, Agesilaus.







FIG. 1. GURKHAS MASQUERADING AS NAUCH-GIRLS AND DRUMMERS AT THE DURGA FESTIVAL (DASAHARA).



FIG. 2. SACRIFICE OF SHEEP—NOTE DARK BLOOD-STAINS. THE WHITE POLE HAD PRIMITIVE DESIGNS WHICH I WAS NOT ALLOWED TO COPY; IT WAS PROBABLY A SURROGATE OF A STATUE OF THE GODDESS.

**GURKHA LIFE IN THE CAMP AT MORILE MARCULEȘTI, 1918.**

*Photos by L. Adam.*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

**Nepal: Marriage Ceremony.**

**With Plate B.**

**Adam.**

**A Marriage Ceremony of the Pun-Clan (Magar) at Rigah (Nepal).** *By Leonhard Adam.*

#### I. *Introductory.*

The present paper contains a small part of the material collected by myself during my stay in the Indian Prisoners of War Camp at Morile-Marculesti (pronounced Marcoolesht) in South Roumania from April to November, 1918. Indian soldiers of various tribes, taken prisoner on the Western Front, could hardly support the North German climate, and it was difficult to arrange the ritual food which was essential for their maintenance. Consequently, after the occupation of Roumania in 1916, the German military authorities sent most of the Indian prisoners, with their consent, to Southern Roumania, where spring and summer at least are so warm as to be more suitable for Indians. It is true that, on the other hand, winter in Roumania is as cold as in the North; but, first of all, the conditions of existence for the Indians who desired to live according to their religious prescriptions were much better here. There was no prisoners' camp in the proper sense of this term, because no enclosure existed. The camp was situated on the plain near to the lovely Jalomita River, and near a wonderful forest. The soldiers lived, partly in solid Roumanian houses, partly in huts they had built themselves of stems and loam with reed-covered roofs, in a primitive style, following their own taste and needs. Sikhs, Thakurs, Gurkhas, Garhwalis and Mohammedans lived separately but close by each other. They were free to keep sheep, chickens and pigeons, and to cultivate their own garden, where they grew vegetables and melons, even Indian vegetables, the seed of which they received by post *via* the British Prisoners of War Fund. Furthermore, each tribe had its own temple and could perform its rites according to its religion. In October, 1918, I took part in the great *Durga* Festival of the Gurkhas (*Dasahara*) as their guest, and I saw about ten or twelve sheep being sacrificed in honour of the goddess (*see* Plate B, Fig. 2). Some of the soldiers were dancing, disguised as 'nauch-girls,' while the drum was resounding (*see* Plate B, Fig. 1), and the temple, with its excellent water-colours of Hindu deities painted by Sergeant Ganga-Ram, was beautifully decorated with flowers and coloured paper-garlands. Thus one was really under the impression of being amongst the Gurkhas in their own country. Moreover, every reasonable desire of the prisoners could be fulfilled, since the Commander of the camp was a German officer who had spent many years in India and spoke Hindustani fluently, being sympathetic and of high education. I shall never forget this camp, which with all its details represented a wonderful proof of humanity. These introductory remarks are made to show under what comparatively favourable psychological conditions scientific records could be gathered. While, after some months, I was able to write my records with some Sikhs directly in Punjabi, the Gurkha records required the voluntary assistance of some very intelligent 'line-boys,' who translated the answers of the single men, given in Khas-kura, into English. It is true that conversations with single individuals in a foreign country are but a surrogate for field-work. However, the comparatively agreeable

surroundings at Morile-Marculești had undoubtedly a favourable influence upon the humour of my voluntary helpers, who, with a few exceptions, were apparently pleased with the opportunity to talk about customs and habits of their tribes, thus giving rather trustworthy reports, although it was difficult to gather a coherent narrative.

In my introduction to the first part of another section of our records collected in the camps,<sup>1</sup> I published a detailed survey of the psychological conditions under which our material was obtained. The Gurkha records have not yet been published. I hope to be able to publish them at length in one of the next volumes of my *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* (Stuttgart).

The literature on Nepal and the Gurkhas published before 1928 was inadequate on social organization and customary law except Colonel Eden Vansittart's 'Notes on Goorkhas.'<sup>2</sup> But in 1928, Major W. Brook Northey and Captain C. J. Morris published their work, 'The Gurkhas, their Manners, Customs and Country,' (London), and in 1933 appeared Captain Morris's excellent book, 'Gurkhas' (Handbook for the Indian Army, Delhi), an entirely rewritten edition of Colonel Vansittart's book, and a very good introduction to Gurkha social and family organization. Many details noted in my records are confirmed here, and further particulars are given which I was, of course, unable to ascertain from a very limited number of individuals. Nevertheless, I may say that some further information and details can be seen from my records which concern the peculiar organization, customs and customary law of special tribes and in single villages of Nepal.

As a matter of course, when eliciting facts from my Nepalese friends, I started from an unconstrained conversation upon their country and their village. Then the first question was always concerning their caste and which castes were living in their village. Most of the intelligent men gave at once a longer or shorter list of what they called 'castes,' but which were in reality partly castes and partly different tribes. It is well known that the term 'Gurkha' was originally restricted to the inhabitants of a place of this name, but is now in use to denote the natives of Nepal as well as their descendants born and brought up in Indian garrisons.<sup>3</sup> Although there are various tribes with altogether different languages in Nepal, it is a striking fact that the people consider themselves as members of one nation, thus treating their tribes almost as mere castes. But there exist undoubtedly both tribal and local peculiarities in social life and customs, and this is why my records often differ from the statements made by Major Northey and Captain Morris, who says himself ('Gurkhas,' Preface): "... it is a fact that in some cases the customs and practices of the various clans and kindreds differ from district to district."

The present paper is but a short chapter of one of the best records (No. 25) I could gather, containing details on local peculiarities which are not found elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> Control by reference to the books mentioned before, justifies my opinion that the soldier who gave me the following information was absolutely trustworthy and a good observer. His name was Bahadur Pun, of the Magar tribe; Pun is the clan-name, though he refused to tell me to which of the many kindreds of his clan<sup>5</sup> he belonged. In 1918, Bahadur Pun was about twenty-seven years of age; these people do not always exactly know their own age. He was a married man, born in Rigah, a village of about eight hundred souls (1914). The district is Baglung (Western Hills of Nepal; cf. Morris, p. 163); the nearest market-town is Tokshar, and the nearest town is Gulmi (Morris, p. 165). He lived in Rigah until he enlisted, but while he was a soldier in Assam he spent some months every year in Rigah, thus being able to describe the customs of his clan in this village.

<sup>1</sup> 'Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika' (Records on tribal law and custom in Morocco, Algier and Tunis), collected by Ernst Ubach and Ernst Rackow, with linguistic notes by G. Kampffmeyer and H. Stumme, edited by Leonhard Adam. (Supplement to the 'Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft'), Stuttgart, 1923. Some of my photos showing scenes from the Sikhs' life in Morile-Marculești can be seen from 'Illustrierte Völkerkunde,' ed. by G. Buschan, Vol. II, 2nd and 3rd edn. (1923), Figs. 323, 324, Plate XVII (p. 496) and Fig. 338. My records gathered from two Australian natives are published in my

'Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft,' Vol. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Calcutta, 1890, revised edition published in 1915 by Colonel U. B. Nicolay, reprinted in 1918; but for our researches only the first edition was to hand.

<sup>3</sup> See Morris, 'Gurkhas,' pp. 37 and 124, seq.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Captain Morris's 'Gurkhas,' p. 41 seq. (on marriage in general); p. 89 seq. (on Limbu-marriage); p. 101 (Rai). Re Major Northey's and Capt. Morris's 'The Gurkhas,' see references above (p. 24).

<sup>5</sup> According to Morris ('Gurkhas,' p. 79), there exist no fewer than 62 kindreds of the Pun-Clan.

## II. Betrothal and Marriage Ceremonies of the Clan Pun (Magar) at Rigah.

If a young man is over 16 years of age, his father has to look for a daughter-in-law. When he has found a girl whom he considers as fit for his son, he has to inform him and to ask whether or not he likes the girl. If the son does not agree, the father is not allowed to choose that girl for him. The son may also select a girl himself. The girl must be not under 14 and not over 15 years of age. Having chosen the girl, the boy's father calls upon the girl's father, requesting him to give his daughter to his son. The boy's father is accompanied by some of his relatives and by the headman (*mukhiya*) of the village; the future bridegroom is not present. The boy's father has to present to the girl's father at least 20 pounds of meat, some dried fish, wine and curds. Thus there is a meeting of the male members of both families in the girl's father's house. If the girl's father agrees to the proposal, the above gifts are handed over to him, and they are then eaten by all the men present. But if the girl's father does not agree, the visitors return to their houses, the boy's father taking the gifts with him. In case of an agreement, the fathers both request the Brahmans to prove the horoscope of both the boy and the girl. Even the hour of marriage will be fixed by a Brahman.

After the meal—in case of an agreement—the boy's father presents a golden ring to the girl's father. The latter does not give this ring to his daughter, but keeps it himself.<sup>6</sup> This betrothal is called *Saimundri*. Then the girl's father fixes the day of marriage (i.e., according to the horoscope), whereafter the guests return to their houses.

Between betrothal and marriage there is a space of not less than four months and of not more than one year. During this period the engaged ones are allowed to see but not to talk to one another. But the bridegroom may see his mother-in-law and talk with her.

One month before the marriage the girl's father gives notice to the bridegroom's father, and from this time both families are proceeding with preparations for the marriage ceremonies. Before the marriage both fathers assemble the members of their families, and each family has a meal separately.

On the marriage-day the bridegroom's father assembles his family members and his friends again. Four hours before the marriage the bridegroom's father sends a message to the marriage-party, viz., the male members and the male friends of the bride's family, requesting them to be ready. The messengers are two men, who have to take with them about forty bananas and a wooden vessel of curds, bringing these gifts to the girl's father. Meanwhile the bridegroom's father reserves four sheep, three goats, about 50 pounds of curds, wine, clothing, and ornaments for the bride. Musicians, flautists, trumpeters and drummers are fetched.

Then the male members and friends of the bridegroom's family walk to the bride's father's house. They are carrying rifles, on the way firing into the air. The bridegroom's eldest brother and his father, as well as the headman, are on horseback. The bridegroom himself is carried by four men in a closed litter (*doli*<sup>7</sup>). Some male relatives of the bride meet them with musicians. Then the men of the bride's family receive the men of the bridegroom's family and, when welcoming, they sprinkle rice mixed with curds over them. This is called *parchenu*, and it means about 'to give the honour.' Then the marriage company on the part of the bridegroom enters a hut of mats previously erected close by the bride's father's house, where the whole marriage company, i.e., from both sides, takes seats. As soon as the bridegroom's company has taken seats, the food prepared in the bride's house (not the food brought by the bridegroom's companions) is served up and distributed. The bridegroom is present; the bride is not. She is in her room. The men eat and drink. The women belonging to the bride's family are standing round the sitting men, offering food and drinks, but do not take anything themselves. Afterwards the men sing and dance. The women sing, too, but do not dance. The bridegroom is present.

Meanwhile the Brahman arrives. At the hour fixed in the horoscope he brings the betrothed couple together. This is performed before the *jagge*, either in front of the bride's father's house, a little to the side, or at a corner of the house. A *jagge* is a place for the veneration of God, being

<sup>6</sup> This differs from Capt. Morris's 'Gurkhas,' p. 41: "of betrothal."

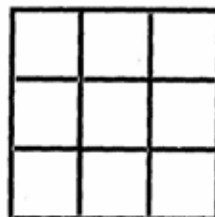
<sup>7</sup> When a marriage has been agreed upon, the boy's parents give the girl a gold ring (*sahi mūdri*) as a sign

<sup>7</sup> Major Northey and Captain Morris write *dooly*.



made for marriages and certain other festivals by a Brahman. It is somewhat less than 1 foot high and about 1 yard and 3 inches long and broad, and consists of accumulated earth. The Brahman erects this place of earth and cow manure, sprinkles Ganga-water over it and covers it with flour, sprinkling it in the following lines and figures, viz. :—

1. a square with two pairs of parallel lines crossing each other;
2. (facing the bottom line) half-moon and sun.



At the fixed hour, bridegroom and bride are brought together. The couple is sitting before the *jagge*. The bride's face is veiled. They are not allowed to talk with each other. Both are holding flowers (*ful*) and *acheta* (a mixture of rice and milk) in their hands. Then the Brahman begins to read in his scripture book. After finishing one chapter, he requests the couple to circle several times round the *jagge*. Afterwards the two reseal themselves. Now the bridegroom puts a handful of *sendur* (red lead; a powdered red colour) on the front of the bride's head, above the forehead. He has to do so five times. At this moment the bride's family is forbidden to look, the bridegroom's family is not. After this ceremony the girl is considered as the legitimate wife of the young man. But they are not yet allowed to speak with each other. Now the bride's relatives approach the couple and wash their feet. This is done first by the bride's parents, then by the bride's brother, finally by the other relatives. After feet washing, the members of the bride's family sprinkle this water over the couple's heads. Furthermore, after the washing, the male relatives of the bride must make some presentations to the couple (cloth, ornaments, pottery, also money). Then the couple returns, i.e., the husband goes into the hut of mats, the bride into the house. All this happens during the night. Next morning the bride's father puts her and her younger sister into the litter in which the bridegroom came. Then the husband's relatives, especially his father, give presents to the bride's family and, after greeting and taking leave, the young husband's family goes home. The young husband is now on horseback.

On arrival at home a festival is arranged at a distance of about 400 to 500 yards from the house. The family members eat and drink. Then the couple enters the house, while the husband's relatives return to their home. As soon as they have entered the house, the young couple may speak to each other. But after three days of conjugal life the young couple and the wife's sister must return to the wife's parents. This is called *duran farkanu*, meaning: If the couple did not return after three days and for three days to the bride's parents' house, the couple would certainly suffer from ill luck. One of them would die, or one or other piece of their property would be lost. Thus the couple will stay for two or three days with the young wife's parents. Afterwards the young husband returns to his house alone. But after a week he returns to take his wife finally. The couple will then live in the house of the husband's father, but in separate rooms reserved for them. Husband and wife are joint owners of the gifts presented to the couple by the bride's family during the marriage ceremony. This is the same with all the other goods. The woman is not the owner of a single piece, and she is not allowed to sell or to buy anything alone; she does not even own her ornaments.

The above description was given in Khaskura and translated at once by the interpreter into simple but very clear English. I recorded his translation in German, except for a few important sentences, which I wrote word for word in English. I am sorry that it is impossible here to add an analysis of the particulars. Some features of these ceremonies prove Indian influence, e.g., the circulating the holy place (*saptapādi*); the half-moon and sun, etc.; and sprinkling rice and milk is a magic fertility-ritual which is well known from many countries and peoples, including Europe. Now, the *Pun* clan (or, according to Northey's and Morris's terminology in 'The Gurkhas,' *Pun* tribe) live "in the high isolated parts of the Magar country" ('The Gurkhas,' p. 189). Their special habits are not separately treated in Major Northey's and Captain Morris's books. Therefore, it is interesting to compare my record with the excellent descriptions given in 'The Gurkhas' of marriage ceremonies of Brahmans, Thakurs and Chetris (p. 127 *seqq.*), of Magars and Gurungs (p. 194, *seqq.*), and of the Rai (p. 241, *seqq.*). The ritual of the Puns is somewhat more primitive, but there are some deviations. For instance, the interdiction to speak to one another seems to be a peculiar custom of the Puns,



although this can be found with other peoples, as well as the returning of the married woman to her family for some time, a well-known custom in other countries, but which I could not find in Northey's and Morris's books. Some further details seem to be peculiar, too. Thus, although there exists a classical description of Gurkha marriage in the books mentioned a part of my records seemed to me worth publishing as a detailed report from a special local district.

LEONHARD ADAM.

### Egypt : Camel.

Caton-Thompson.

*The Camel in Dynastic Egypt. By G. Caton-Thompson.*

The evidence for the existence of the camel in protodynastic and dynastic Egypt, resting as it has hitherto done upon rare modelled likenesses of a somewhat ambiguous creature 24 insecurely believed to represent a camel, may now be supplemented by practically certain physical proof of its existence in the early Old Kingdom. In the season of 1927-8 my third season's work in the Faiyum, under the auspices of the Royal Anthropological Institute, included the excavation of gypsum quarries and workshops in the northern Faiyum scarp (cf. MAN, July, 1928). Amongst the objects found was a two-strand twist of hair-cord, over 3 feet in length, superficially, I noted, resembling camel-hair.

Through the kindness of Mr. Martin A. C. Hinton of the Natural History Museum, this has now been carefully examined. He reports (Oct. 5, 1933): "I have made a careful microscopic study of the hair and have compared it with the hairs of many recent mammals. The ancient hairs are, as regards the cortex, somewhat disintegrated; but making allowance for that, they agree perfectly well with those of the camel and they show more or less important differences from those of all the other mammals used for comparison. These included, amongst others, ox, sheep, goat, horse, ass, and man. Ordinary transmitted light and polarized light were used for the examination, and with both the agreement was with the camel. So I think one can say with safety that the rope was made of camel-hair."

The cord, on evidence which will be given in my forthcoming publication of the Faiyum work, is dated to the Third, or at latest possibly the early Fourth Dynasty. It was collected by myself from the 2-ft. level in an undisturbed and culturally homogeneous 4-ft. deposit of consolidated gypsum powder dated throughout by pottery: there is, in my opinion, no possibility of error in its Old Kingdom authenticity.

The cord, at the special request of the late Mr. G. R. Carline, passed into the possession of the Bankfield Museum, Halifax, whose present curator kindly supplied me with the sample for analysis.

I have thought this information may be of sufficient interest to Egyptologists to abstract and isolate it here from its inconspicuous place in the forthcoming Faiyum publication to be issued as one of the series of annual publications of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt in financial conjunction with the Royal Anthropological Institute. To prehistorians it will equally be of importance in checking a tendency to consider that desert rock-drawings or engravings of camels must necessarily be either of Pleistocene or of late historic date.

G. CATON-THOMPSON.

### Nigeria : Archæology.

Balfour.

*Occurrence of 'Cleavers' of Lower-Palæolithic type in Northern Nigeria. By H. Balfour, F.R.S.*

In the description of 'Stone implements from Nigeria,' published by Mr. H. J. Braunholtz in 1926 (Geological Survey of Nigeria, Occasional Paper, No. 4), there appears 25 to be no reference to a type of implement of Lower-palæolithic *facies*, which is of considerable interest in the general African series of early stone age types. I refer to the axe-like type, commonly referred to nowadays as the 'cleaver,' which is characterized mainly by having the cutting edge formed by the intersection of two large flake-scars, one on either surface of the implement. The junction of these two scars along the lower margin furnishes a cutting edge of extreme sharpness, though, necessarily, one which is incapable of standing prolonged hard usage for chopping purposes. The edge is not altered by secondary trimming, which would have the effect of lessening its keenness. Until recent years, this type had received scant recognition, since it had been noted as an occasional occurrence only among Chelleo-Acheulian implements and was considered to be somewhat rare and

aberrant. Even now, it might be straining a point to describe the 'cleaver' as one of the dominant tool-types of Chelleo-Acheulian cultures in most of the areas of its dispersal. But in South Africa, particularly, it must be accorded the status of a dominant type, in view of its great abundance and

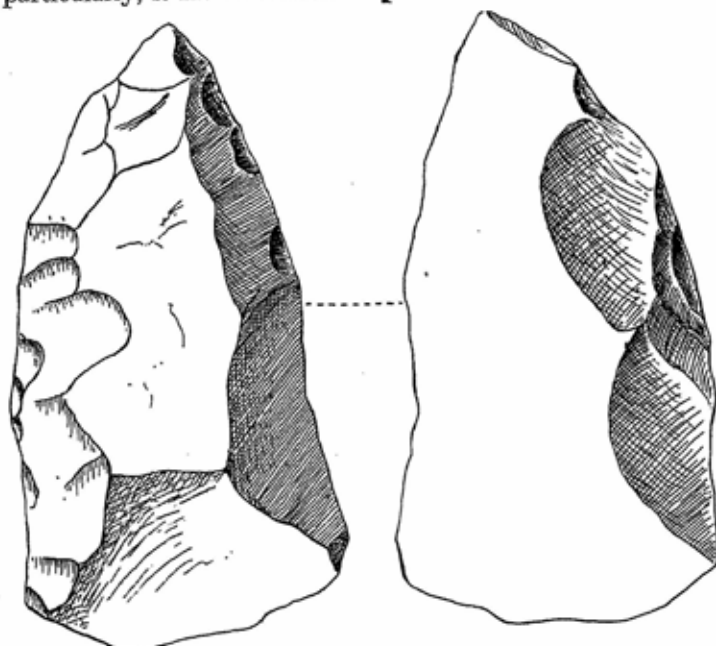


FIG. 1. FROM GANGARE, IN OR NEAR THE DELIMI RIVER.  
Found by A. S. Williams.

the general characteristics and distribution of the flaking are shown. The first example (Fig. 1)<sup>1</sup> is a well-defined 'cleaver' which was found by Mr. A. S. Williams in, or close to, the Delimi R., at Gangare, near Jos, on the Bauchi Plateau, Northern Nigeria. It is about 16 cm. long  $\times$  8.7 cm. in maximum width, and consists of a massive flake. The greater area of one surface is the untouched scar of detachment from the original block, though along one lateral margin a few flakes have been detached, by way of marginal trimming. The other surface exhibits a larger area of coarse flaking, some of which appears to have been done prior to the detachment of the main flake from the block. The large facet forming the basal area of this surface is a single flake-scar, and the cutting or 'cleaving' edge of the implement is formed by the junction of this scar with the scar-of-detachment of the other surface. Fig. 2 shows a second, larger and better worked 'cleaver,' possibly of diorite, about 17.5 cm. long, and nearly 11 cm. wide. It was found in the Mongu R., at Mongu, on the southern part of the Bauchi Plateau. It is considerably weathered and patinated; the edges and ridges are rounded off by attrition, and the whole surface is glossy. Its form is more symmetrical and the flaking along the lateral margins is rather less coarse, as compared with the other specimen, but the technique and mode of producing the desired tool-form are similar in the two instances.

A third example (Fig. 3), which was found in alluvial gravel on the Delimi R., at Gangare, was sent to me by the Resident at Jos in 1931. It is considerably smaller than the others mentioned, 11.8 cm.  $\times$  6.8 cm., and is made of Rhyolite or Liparite (identified by Mr. C. J. Bayzand). It is greatly weathered and the flaking on the two surfaces has lost definition through attrition. The dulling of the edges and ridges makes it difficult to distinguish the flake-scars, except in a few instances. Sufficient indication of the technique and intention, however, remains, and one can unhesitatingly accept this specimen as an implement of the 'cleaver' type, similar in general character to the example shown in Fig. 2.

<sup>1</sup> The figures are half-scale.

These three examples from the Bauchi Plateau indicate that the 'cleaver' was one of the well-defined tools of that part of West Africa during what is presumed to have been a Lower-palæolithic culture phase. Whether this tool-type can be shown to have occupied as dominant a position in

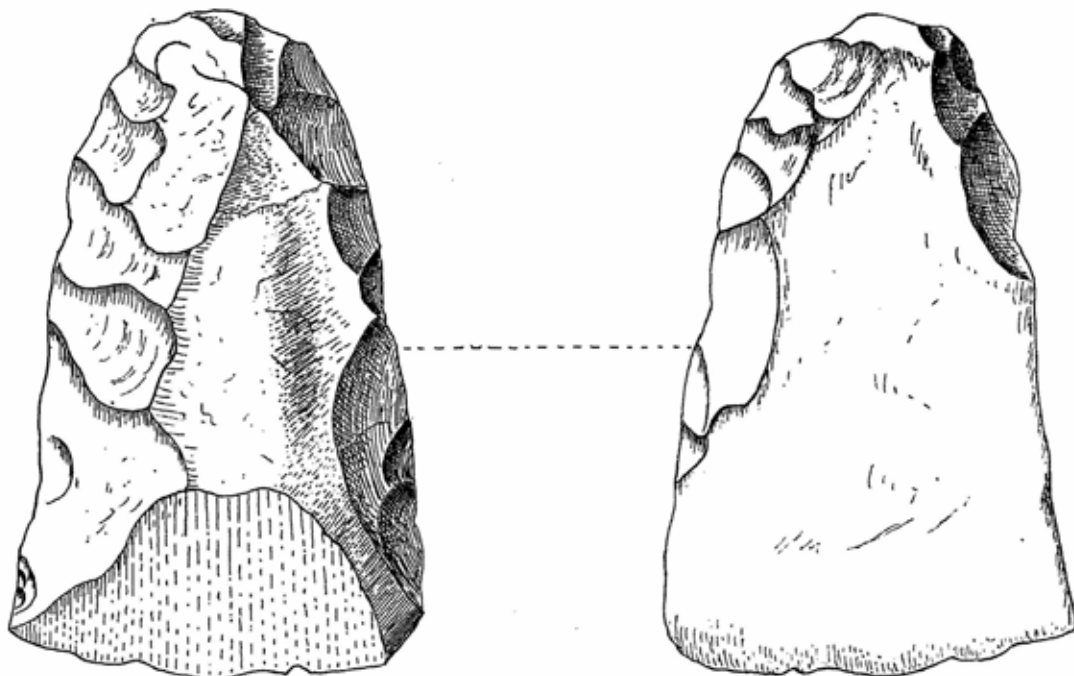


FIG. 2. FROM THE MONGU RIVER, AT MONGU, SOUTHERN BAUCHI PLATEAU.

this region as 'cleavers' do in South Africa remains to be seen, when a far more extensive series of early stone-age implements has been secured from the Plateau alluvial deposits. There can be little doubt, I think, that the 'cleavers' of West and South Africa are closely related morphologically, and there is great likelihood that it may be possible to link up the Lower-palæolithic implements of 'cleaver' type throughout their dispersal, or, at any rate, the greater part of it.

In the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, I have for some years placed on exhibition the following examples which fall within the category of 'cleavers.' One very large example of flint, from Warren Hill, Suffolk (from S. G. Hewlett's collection); one small, also of flint, from Willingdon Hill, Sussex (from the same collection); plaster-cast from one of those found by Louis Lartet in the alluvium of the Manzanares, at San Isidro, Spain; one of compacted quartzite from the 'laterite' gravels, Attrampakkam Nullah, Chingleput District, Madras Presidency (from R. Bruce Foote's collection); one of quartzite from Madras Presidency (Mrs. W. Theobald's collection); one, made from a large outside flake from a quartzite boulder, from Madras (J. Wickham Flower's collection);

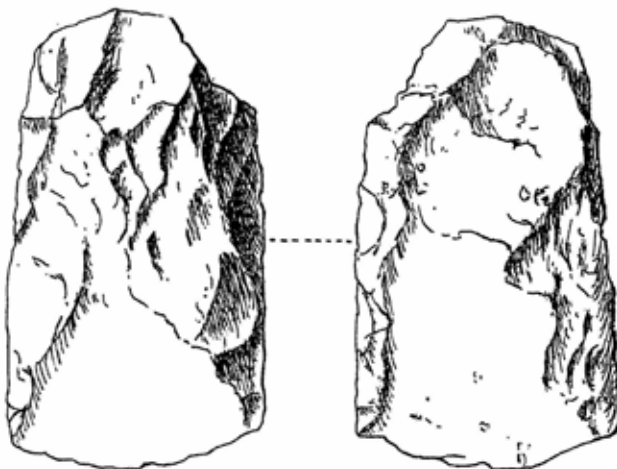


FIG. 3. FROM ALLUVIAL GRAVEL, GANGARE, DELIMI RIVER.

one of quartzite from 'lateritic' deposits, Poondi, Madras Presidency (H. W. Seton Karr's collection). The following specimens are from South Africa—one large 'cleaver' of Table-Mountain sandstone, from Stellenbosch, Cape Colony (collected by myself, 1905); one made from a thick outside-flake from a sandstone boulder, from a 'Stellenbosch' factory site at Villiersdorp, C.C. (Dr. van Heerden's collection); one from the Vaal River at Nooitgedacht, Griqualand West (collected by myself, 1910); four from the Vaal R. at Pniel, G.W. (collected by myself, 1929); fifteen from the same locality (van Alphen collection); two from the Vaal R. at Windsorton (Kimberley Museum and van Alphen collections); two from Barkly West (Miss Wilman's collection); one from Tiger Kloof, Bechuanaland (Rev. Neville Jones's collection); one from the junction of the Riet and Modder Rivers (J. C. Rickard's collection, 1880); two from the Racecourse and one from the Golfcourse, Pietermaritzburg, Natal (C. G. Bliss collection); and, lastly, one from the bed of the Sabi River, Sabi Game Reserve, at Hippopotamus Pool, number II (collected by myself, 1929).

HENRY BALFOUR.

**A Cypro-Mycenæan Inscription from Enkomi, near Salamis in Cyprus.** By Professor John L. Myres.

**26** The fragment of a large clay store-jar, shown on quarter-scale in Fig. 1, was found in the autumn of 1913 in the course of a trial excavation for the Cyprus Museum on the well-known Late Minoan site near Enkomi, the bronze age predecessor of the Hellenic city Salamis, on the east coast of Cyprus. The jar had been part of the equipment of a chamber-tomb cut in the low limestone escarpment which overlooks the bronze-age cemetery along its east side.



FIG. 1. POTSHERD FROM ENKOMI WITH INCISED INSCRIPTION. ( $\frac{1}{2}$  SCALE.)

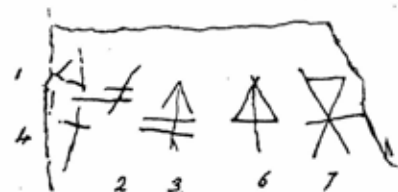


FIG. 2. COPY OF INSCRIPTION (GRAFFITO) FROM ENKOMI. Made by Sir Arthur Evans from a photograph.

cf. B.52; B.44: B.17.

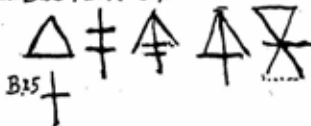


FIG. 3. THE GRAFFITO SIGNS COMPARED WITH 'LINEAR CLASS B.' The 'impaled triangle' (6) and 'double axe' (7) are common as Minoan symbols.

Unfortunately the tomb had been long looted, and contained only a few other fragments of pottery including common Late Minoan painted ware. Similar chamber-tombs along the same escarpment, though all likewise looted, yielded potsherds enough to associate them with the cemetery in the open ground below, where the British Museum excavated in 1895 ('Excavations in Cyprus.' London, 1899) and the Swedish Expedition recently. The fragment was deposited in the Cyprus Museum forthwith, together with other objects from the same excavation.

The photograph shows clearly part of an inscription, incised on the vessel after firing. Unfortunately, after the fragment left my keeping, and before it was photographed in the Cyprus Museum, someone has enhanced with lead-pencil all the incised lines that appear in my own copy of the document. Sir Arthur Evans detects on the photograph another sign near the left hand edge of the fragment. This I must have regarded as an accidental scratch, for I have no record of it.

It will be seen that the inscription is incomplete at both ends, and as the characters happen to be all symmetrical—though not quite accurately so, as is to be expected in a roughly incised document—there is no direct evidence in which direction it was written or is to be read.

Sir Arthur Evans has very kindly written the following note on the signs.

JOHN L. MYRES.

**Note on a Cypro-Mycenæan Inscription from Enkomi.** By Sir Arthur Evans, F.R.S., F.B.A.

**27** Although, as Professor Myres has noted, the inscription has suffered from pencilling, a careful examination of the

photograph with the aid of a strong lens has enabled me to supply the copy (Fig. 2) with sufficient confidence. As usually the case with the Cypro-Mycenaean signs, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 correspond, as shown in Fig. 3, with signs of the Linear Class B of Knossos. It is interesting further to observe that they are all found in what appears to be a unitary branch of the same script, dependent on this, prevalent in Mainland Greece (Tiryns, Mycenae, Thebes, Orchomenos) in the 'Late Minoan III' or the 'Mycenaean' era succeeding the fall of the Knossian Palace. The two final signs on the right correspond with well-known Minoan symbols of a religious character, the 'impaled triangle' and the 'double axe.' I have ventured to assume that in the graffito the lower stroke of the 'double axe' was omitted. The work is all very hasty. The cruciform sign at the beginning of line 2 is the most usual terminal of male names on the Knossian tablets of Class B—many with 'man' sign appended. It is probably the end of a name-group.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

**The Folk-Tales and Beliefs of Blasket Island, Kerry.** *Summary of a Communication presented by K. Jackson, 9 January, 1934.*

The Blaskets are a group of small and remote islands off the coast of N.W. Kerry, inhabited by the descendants of mainlanders who immigrated during the great Famine, now 22 households; they are 100 per cent. Gaelic-speaking, and the Great Blasket is the last stronghold of the language in W. Kerry. 28

Localized traditions are those connected with local saints, particularly St. Brendan the Voyager, with the Ossianic cycle, and with the Spanish Armada and the Cromwellian wars.

The songs and poems, which are very popular, are mostly of the 17th-18th century Munster School in the Munster dialect, and of their later folk-imitators. Extempore verse-composition died out within living memory.

Ghosts and ghost-stories are not common, and there is a tendency to confuse ghosts and fairies. Belief in the *sidhe* folk, the *leprechaun*, and the *púca* horse. A couple of supernatural Hags associated with an old fort (the *Dún*) on the island. Characteristic belief that seals are human beings under enchantment and capable of speaking.

Tradition and folk-tale is the property of the *seanchaidhe* ('shanachy') who is the professional entertainer and story-teller. He learns the tales, etc., orally from an established *seanchaidhe*, needs a prodigious memory, and may have a very large repertoire. The youngest on the Island is over sixty and the tradition will die with the next generation; hence the necessity of collecting all material before too late. Their stories are common to many parts of Gaelic-speaking Ireland; the 'International Folk-Tales' brought and disseminated in the Middle Ages by merchants, beggars and priests. Of these, 'Animal Stories' are rare, 'Wonder-Tales' and 'Humorous Tales' are common and often very good, e.g., the Three Pieces of Advice (A-T 910B\*), Cinderella (A-T 510A), the Magic Helper and the Perseus story (A-T 300), the Taming of the Shrew (A-T 901), the Rich Peasant and the Poor Peasant (A-T 1535), etc. Hero-Tales of the Ossianic cycle:—the tale of 'the King of the World and the Battle of Ventry,' and the tale 'How Diarmid got the Love-Spot.' Local tales, explaining place-names, e.g., how the Sorrowful Cliff got its name; or explaining traditions, e.g., who were the Hags of the *Dún*. Tales about Piers Ferriter, the 17th century nobleman, poet, and local hero, worked up into a kind of saga, with many scattered verses attributed to him.

KENNETH JACKSON.

## REVIEWS.

**The Ama-Xosa: Life and Customs.** By John Henderson Soga. (Lovedale Press.) £1 ls.

Mr. Soga rightly points out that the Ama-Xosa are one of the most interesting of the South African tribes, not only on account of its long history as a more or less united tribe, but also because of the

vitality of its language and the influence it has had on other surrounding tribes. The present work contains a short summary of tribal history—as far as we can reconstruct it—together with details of certain aspects of the social organization, such as the legal system, economic institutions and war, some of the important

\* The references are to the numbers of Aarne and Thompson's 'The Types of the Folk-Tale,' Helsinki, 1928.



rites—marriage, circumcision, burial, and ancestral sacrifices—and a miscellaneous collection of customs, omens, and charms. The book is evidently intended primarily to interest the general public, and more particularly, the South African public, in the inherent possibilities of the African race. For this reason one feels throughout a certain tendency to stress the similarities between Xosa customs and social organization and those of European and other races during certain stages of their history. Thus we get a picture of tribal organization seen, as it were, through European eyes, and described with the use of European terms and legal concepts. To that section of the general public which still considers an African as a 'savage' this is probably salutary and stimulating. But the ethnologist, with his craving for exact definition amid the welter of semi-scientific literature about Africa, must naturally admit to some disappointment and a good deal of apprehension at the wholesale application of such terms as the 'Scotch clan,' 'tax,' 'criminal and 'civil codes,' etc., without a fuller description of their meaning.

To the anthropologist the most valuable part of the book is probably the chapter on ancestral sacrifices among the Bantu. In spite of its many, and sometimes far-fetched comparisons with Jewish religion, this section is a definite addition to our knowledge. There is some interesting material, too, on the procedure for opening a legal court among the Ama-Xosa, together with probably the fullest account we have yet on the *hlonipa* customs of these South-Eastern Bantu. The book as a whole gives also some idea of the constant process of splitting and subdivision into tribes, sub-tribes and local units which is so characteristic of these people.

Mr. Soga's book must be welcomed as evidence that Lovedale College, with its unique opportunities for research among the South African peoples, is becoming alive to the value and possibilities of real sociological study among the villages of Bantu Africa at the present day.

A. I. R.

**Japan.** By G. B. Sansom. *Cresset Historical Series.*  
 Edited by Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S.  
 Price 30s.

The general editor and the author are to be congratulated on a really satisfactory short history of Japanese culture, of which the first part is probably as good a summary as can be expected, in the present state of Japanese prehistorical studies, of the early history of the people. Theoretical 'ages' have been borrowed ready-made by Japanese anthropology from the terminology of the European pioneers. The author betrays an occasional spasm of doubt about these wholesale transferences, as when he notes that, following directly on the so-called 'Neolithic' shell-mounds, come the sepulchral mounds of a continental iron-using culture, and wonders whether something did not intervene between this Stone Age and an advanced Iron Age. So might future archaeologists wonder if there had been an intervening developmental age between finds from a present-day fishing village and those from twentieth-century Yokohama! His critical sense, however, seems to sleep when he accepts the current view that Shintō, the 'Way' of the gods, developed from a crude native polytheism. The very name bears the hall-mark of advanced Central Asian theosophical thought. Further on, too, he seems unaware of the results of Mr. Mosaku Ishida's studies on the Buddhism of the Nara Period (from an examination of Sūtra MSS. in the Shōsōin) when he states that Buddhist sūtras at first were mere magic recitals to the Japanese. Those studies give a new and remarkable picture of a Japan

earnestly absorbing Buddhist philosophy and practising Zen at a much earlier date than was suspected. On the other hand, in exchange for the legendary figure of Jimmu Tenno, who has too often found his way into serious histories of Japan, Mr. Sansom gives us Pimiku, the historical Japanese Medea, chosen queen by her people because of her 'magic,' who welded them into a State, and was buried in the third century A.D. in a chambered mound. The next sovereign, too, was female, a girl of 13. When a male pretender arose there was revolt, and when they got their queen, "order" was restored. This is new in Japanese history: matriarchy, and a linking up of megalithic culture with it, in Han times. But again the author, seeing with his too-Western eyes, speaks of the early religion as "un-tutored pantheism," backward because anthropomorphism was undeveloped, and because there was no clear distinction between life and death or body and spirit, no definite idea of an immortal, separate soul; and, on this account, he finds it lacking in speculative, philosophic elements! We get, however, an admirable account of actual Shintō observances, and an acute appreciation of their concern with physiological and aesthetic purity, and of the influence on Japanese character that has been exercised by the absence of a problem of evil or a torturing sense of sin. This volume well fulfils the purpose Professor Seligman had in view in projecting the series, and no student of human culture can afford to be without it. There has been too much ignorance of what Northern and Easternmost Asia were thinking and doing when the West was going to school in the culture of the Near East.

V. C. C. COLLUM.

**Labarun al'Adun Hausawa da Zantatukansu.**  
**Accounts and Conversations describing certain**  
**31 Customs of the Hausas.** By F. W. Taylor and  
 A. G. G. Webb. With a Foreword by Henry  
 Balfour, F.R.S., Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum.  
 Oxford: University Press. xii + 225 pp. Price  
 4s. 6d. (Limp cloth edition for the West African  
 market, 2s. 9d.)

This book consists of Hausa texts (written by natives), with the English translation on the opposite page. The texts deal with such subjects as birth, marriage, and burial customs, the Koran School, fasts, and festivals, sacrifice, including also accounts of agricultural and building operations and details of handicrafts (tanning, dyeing, smithing). It is thus obvious that they have a twofold value, linguistic and ethnographic. The writers belong to different districts (Zaria, Abuja, and Kano), but their contributions are all expressed in the standard Kano dialect, and corrected by the editors into the recognized official orthography. Each of the writers was fully conversant with the customs of his own locality, but, as Messrs. Taylor and Webb have been careful to point out, "any given account must not be regarded as entirely true of any district other than the particular one stated in the table of contents." Some of the contributors have conveyed their information in the form of dialogues, thus giving greater scope for a variety of familiar idioms. There is a racy freshness about these conversations which is apparent even through the medium of the English version. Of such, we have 'A Marriage Case' (which did not end to the satisfaction of all parties), 'A Case of Theft,' and, *inter alia*, a dialogue between a Mallam and a pagan (*arne*) about sacrifices, from which we learn some curious details. It appears that, in the ritual slaughter of any animal, "you should not stay your hand until it is quite dead." If the operator stops and goes on again, "the meat becomes unclean" and is to be thrown away. The pagans take it away and "do what they like with it." A camel—which is only

offered in the last resort, if no less valuable sacrifice is obtainable—must not have its throat cut, as is done for oxen, sheep, or goats, but is stuck. A reversal of this rule, in either case, renders the flesh unfit for sacrifice.

Attention may further be directed to the following points: the excellent diagrams (pp. 94, 95) showing the time of day and the hours of prayer; the table of relationship-terms (pp. 60, 61), and the section headed "Different Names and their Meanings" (pp. 36 *et seq.*). Some of these are derived from the day of the week on which the child was born (Tanimu, Talatu, Laraba, etc.) or from other circumstances; a child who lives when all his or her predecessors have died is named Dogara, 'Trust.' The youngest of a family (*cf.*, Swahili *Kũinda mimba*, sometimes also called *Msiwanda*) has the name Auta, which frequently occurs in folk-lore. One can only, in conclusion, agree with Dr. Balfour's hope, "that the present volume may have a series of successors upon similar lines." A. W.

**A Limba-English Dictionary.** By Mary Lane Clarke. Freetown (Sierra Leone): Government Press, 1929. 150 pp. Price 5s. net. **32**

The Limba people are found in the interior of the Sierra Leone Protectorate, occupying, with their neighbours the Susu, the area between the Little Scarcies and Great Scarcies rivers. It is included by Prof. Westermann among the 'Klassensprachen' and by the late Maurice Delafosse in his 'Groupe Ségalo-guinéen.' Mr. N. W. Thomas (MAN, 1919) thought it should be classed as Semi-Bantu, but the late Sir Harry Johnston was unable to accept this view. "There are scarcely any affinities in the noun-roots, in the numerals, pronouns or verb-roots with the Bantu family, or with Semi-Bantu languages, save in the cases where there has been borrowing or interchange from Temne." ('Comparative Study,' ii, 213.) Some information about the tribe is to be found in Mr. Migeod's 'A View of Sierra Leone' (1926), but not much about the language, except a list of the numerals from 1 to 10, which differ considerably from those given by Mrs. Clarke. This is probably due to different dialects being used—Mrs. Clarke has drawn chiefly on the Biriwa and Sefroko. The language appears to possess a species of concord, adjectives and numerals varying their prefix according to the noun which governs them. As the Dictionary seems to have been completed in 1922 (it may be the 'typed vocabulary' shown to Mr. Migeod in 1924 by the Rev. F. R. Birch), it was impossible to take advantage of the orthography suggested by the International African Institute, but, apart from this, the symbols adopted do not seem altogether satisfactory. For the velar nasal, Lepsius's *ŋ* is used, but this system is not otherwise adhered to, the post-alveolar fricative being expressed by *ʃ*, and not, as with Lepsius, by *ʒ*. The sound represented by *ʃ*, which 'has no English equivalent' and 'sounds something like ugb, though not so distinct a g sound,' may be what is now known as 'implosive b.' The affricate *tʃ* (Lepsius's *tʃ*) is represented by *c*, pronounced 'as ch in chain,' and this sound is said to be interchangeable with a 't having a smothered sound,' which is written *ʃ*. Possibly what is meant is the 'palatal plosive,' formerly written *c* by the International Phonetic Association, now *ty*. But one cannot attempt to form an opinion on these points till the language has been analysed by a competent phonetician.

Unlike the Bantu languages, Limba possesses definite articles and forms the plural of some nouns by suffixes, though others follow the Bantu rule and change the prefix. In the Dictionary every noun is followed by its appropriate article and by what is, presumably, the

plural suffix, though on this point greater clearness is desirable. The absence of a grammar naturally renders it less easy to make use of this work. Mr. Migeod mentions an unpublished grammar shown him by the American missionary at Kamakuya. Is it too much to hope that this also may see the light? A. W.

**La Trépanation Crânienne chez les Néolithiques et chez les Primitifs Modernes.** By Émile Guillard. Paris, 1930. 126 pp., 13 plates. Price 30 francs. **33**

Several aspects of the practice of trepanation among prehistoric and modern primitive peoples are of interest to the anthropologist, and the subject is one which has been dealt with principally by French workers owing to the abundance of affected skulls found in the Neolithic sites of their country. Its surgical aspect offers several problems which have not yet been finally solved; its purpose, if it was not purely therapeutic in intent, is matter for discussion, and to some inquirers the question of the geographical distribution of such a well-defined custom will be of particular interest. This treatise is mainly concerned with the surgery of trepanation under primitive conditions, and its other features of anthropological significance are treated in a more cursory way. It is shown that a macroscopic examination of the specimens can be supplemented with advantage by histological and radiographic evidence to reveal whether the operation was made during life or posthumously and to give an estimate of the time survived after it had taken place. It is concluded that trepanation was always primarily a medical operation designed to cure convulsive diseased states and possibly mental disorders as well; the association with religious rites was secondary and not essential. Healing without suppuration was almost invariable, and this suggests that Neolithic surgeons may have possessed some knowledge of antiseptic methods. Their subjects would appear to have had a disregard of pain, if not an immunity from infection, which civilized people have lost, though it is again suggested that the operators may also have possessed some knowledge of anaesthetics. In all parts of the world trepanation is said to have been restricted in general to brachycephalic races. A label attached to the cover of this book bears the date 25 Janvier 1927, but the most recent paper in the bibliography appeared in 1930, which is given on the title-page. It was not received for review until the present year. G. M. M.

**L'Adrar Ahnet. Contribution à l'étude archéologique d'un district Saharien.** Par Théodore Monod, Docteur ès Sciences, Assistant au Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle. Being Vol. XIX of *Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 191 rue Saint-Jacques (5e), 1932. 196 pp., 3 plates, 103 text-figures, 3 maps. France et Colonies, 37 fr. 50; Etranger, 56 fr. 25. **34**

Dr. Monod has made a careful examination, not under the easiest conditions, of an area in the Central Sahara virtually untouched from a scientific point of view. The Adrar Ahnet had only once been crossed by a European—by Laing, in 1826, on his way to Timbuktu; he never returned, and his papers were lost. Dr. Monod modestly withholds the details of his expedition, being more concerned with his results, which are extremely creditable, considering that they were accomplished "sous les espèces d'un méhariste de 2e classe, dans des conditions matérielles singulièrement primitives," and with no other instruments than a thermometer and a Peigné compass. The objects surveyed fall into four categories: graves and monuments of various kinds; rock-carvings and paintings; stone implements; pottery. The last-named, the author thinks, has not hitherto attracted the

attention it deserves, though ceramic fragments are extraordinarily abundant, even in places which it is difficult to imagine have ever been inhabited. "Des 'regs effroyablement désertiques sont parfois littéralement jonchés de débris céramiques.'" Only a short chapter of nine pages, however, is devoted to this subject. The most common kind of tumulus (*basina*) is usually circular or oval, sometimes rectangular, erected on a central ~~synk~~ chamber containing the skeleton, always, in pre-Islamic burials, in a contracted position (*replié*). The curious form of funerary monument known as *chouchet* is well illustrated on p. 31, and more or less crescent or horse-shoe shaped constructions on pp. 52-55. Stone circles occur not infrequently in this area, but there are no megaliths; only standing stones of small size.

But the most interesting part of the work is that dealing with the rock-drawings, or rather engravings, for these are much more numerous than the paintings. The figures are usually incised, though some are 'pecked,' like some of the rock-carvings executed by the South African Bushmen. These *gravures à trait pointillé* are said by some to be Neolithic—but the question of relative age bristles with difficulties and is given up by Dr. Monod as insoluble. He contents himself with distinguishing two strata: a 'pre-cameline' (possibly Neolithic) in which we find elephants, giraffes, oxen, ostriches, human figures armed with bows and (?) throwing-knives; neither camels nor horses, and a 'libyco-berbère' with camels, horses, men armed with spear, round shield and sword, and inscriptions in the Tifnagh script. Some of these last are reproduced on pp. 135-139. Three hundred and seventy-eight of these rock-carvings and drawings are figured in this volume, with admirable clearness, in black and white. But one is entitled to complain of the order in which they appear and which follows no discoverable principles, making it extremely difficult to find any particular number. Thus, on p. 72, which shows some very interesting elephants, the numbers run as follows: 84, 163, 164, 202, 22, 81, 21, 113, 20; and it is a work of time and patience to turn up any figure referred to in the text. It would, moreover, have been a boon to the reader if a general map of North-West Africa could have been included; the three large-scale maps at the end have nothing but the lines of latitude and longitude to relate them to anything familiar.

A. WERNER.

**De Boomstamkano in Indonesie.** Dr. C. Nooteboom. Leiden: J. Brill. 1932. 11 x 7½. 240 pp.

**35** Dr. Nooteboom gives a general account of the making of a dugout and a detailed description of the dugouts of all the main regions of Indonesia. There are very numerous illustrations, some of which are drawings, many are photographs of canoes at various places, but more are of models of canoes in different museums. These last are doubtless approximately accurate representations of the actual craft. A table is given of diagrams of the various methods of the attachment of the float to the outrigger booms, and there is a map of their distribution, but in this it is not always easy to discriminate the details of the illustrative diagrams. This is a most useful memoir of the very varied canoes of an interesting area. It is gratifying to find how frequently Mr. J. Hornell is quoted.

A. C. HADDON.

**Omaha Secret Societies.** By R. F. Fortune. Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Volume XIV, 1932. 193 pp.

**36** This study of curing societies and related institutions among a Southern Siouan Plains tribe is based on a fresh analysis in the light of a field study

recently undertaken of the material collected many years ago by the pioneers in this field. The breakdown of native institutions and the poverty of the people made it possible to obtain information where the earlier workers were refused or deceived.

Mr. Fortune's main interests are the psychological attitudes associated with both theory and practice of society rituals and sorcery. As this was largely neglected in the earlier studies of Plains Societies it is of great value to have, even from the ethnological ruins, a careful study among a people well-known for the elaboration of their ritual. Mr. Fortune insists that although concrete forms have decayed and White manners and beliefs have invaded Omaha life the essential core of magical belief has proved resistant both of destruction and of fusion with new concepts.

His psychological approach has enabled him to establish a point of great importance, namely, a fundamental cleavage between theory and practice in the mode of entry to the societies. In theory entry is obtained by an individual vision—induced by fasting and vigil—of the supernatural patron of the given society who thereby instructs the novice. In fact, the novice obtains his knowledge and an account of the vision, which he henceforth treats and records as his own, from another person, nearly always a close relative, who thereby yields up his power. Such transfer is, of course, not lightly made and generally takes place between an elderly father and his son. In consequence, membership of secret societies is passed on from generation to generation in a closed group of families with occasional transfers to sons-in-law. Since it is sincerely believed that one who yields up his membership and knowledge must shortly sicken and die there is definite patricidal character in the importation of a member by his son. The existence of this method of entrance is admitted by members and non-members, but it is regarded as a *pis aller*. The actual universality of this mode of entry is not realized. Mr. Fortune maintains that neither this, nor the sleight-of-hand character of the miracle-tricks performed, are realized by members, far less by the public, as disingenuous or hypocritical. The ever-present possibility of real vision and the belief in a magical accompaniment of the simple trick effectively block any rational analysis.

The supernatural vision has long been recognized as a characteristic and prominent pattern in the Plains area. Its distribution and salient features have been analysed in some detail, and the question of actual source of the relatively fixed patterns said to be acquired in vision has been considered, but the definite formulation of the fictional character of the vision itself has not been so explicitly presented before. Conditions are admittedly more extreme among the Omaha than among some other Plains tribes where transfer of vision is openly admitted. Moreover, the actually hereditary character of membership of the secret curing societies corresponds to the dominance of the family in priestly and chiefly offices, which nominally pertain to certain sibs or patrilineal clans.

Mr. Fortune is obviously alive to the need for precise terminology and for careful explanation of the actual significance of terms. The exposition is in consequence repetitive, even tortuous, at some points, but the psychological values are given a vivid quality by verbatim accounts of statements and admissions often made under conditions of great emotional stress.

Since discussion and illustration of both major and minor questions recur in many different parts of the work an index was needed, and anyone who uses this study at all seriously will have to make one for himself. Although most American ethnographers have at last

settled down comfortably to the terms clan and sib for matrilineal and patrilineal exogamous divisions, Mr. Fortune has seen fit to reintroduce the term gens. One must also regret the uneven phonetic particularity. While presumably subdued sounds are indicated by a small letter above the line, no indication is given of other values. Is the interdental 'th' surd or sonant in Omaha, or does the symbol stand for both? While the sociologist may accept no responsibility for great phonetic precision he should give the audile reader what help he can.

C. D. FORDE.

**Remembering. A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology.** By F. C. Bartlett, M.A., F.R.S., Cambridge Psychological Library. Cambridge. University Press. 1932. 314 pp. Price 16s. **37**

Professor Bartlett's book is as stimulating as any of its illustrious predecessors in the *Cambridge Psychological Library*. To anyone at all acquainted with the vast and tedious literature on memory resting upon the shelves of psychological laboratories, this ought to be a sufficient inducement to read the book.

But since its merits are evident, it behoves us to enter our demurrers at the outset. Firstly then, Professor Bartlett's argument suffers, at times seriously, from its loose construction. The links between the three parts into which the book naturally falls seem to be rather tenuous, perhaps because Professor Bartlett makes only limited use of his elaborate experimental material in the subsequent theoretical statements. Secondly, the argument loses cogency through its insularity. Professor Bartlett is probably justified in dismissing the classical experiments of the Wundtian epoch without compunction; but his views would have been strengthened in some places and perhaps altered in others if he had given fuller consideration to recent experimental work both here and on the Continent. Above all, his complete neglect of psycho-analytical and psychopathological literature is surprising in view of his emphasis upon the affective conditions of remembering.

In the first part of the book, a number of ingenious and often entertaining experiments are reported, from which a wealth of interesting facts and interpretations emerge. The point of the experiments is to demonstrate that remembering is an adaptive function of the active personality; that it is constructive activity genetically related to perceiving and thinking, and not mere automatic reproduction; and that it is essentially determined by the affective factors of interest, sentiment, etc.

This does not, however, in the reviewer's opinion, dispose of the problem of memory as a property of living organisms, distinct (if it is) from behavioural properties, such as e.g., emotion.

The theory developed in the second part must be regarded as an original and plausible hypothesis. Professor Bartlett postulates the existence of organized 'schemata' of experience which are actively responsible for remembering. The function of consciousness is to enable the organism 'to turn round upon its schemata' and to use them flexibly. Professor Bartlett's experiments do not, however, suffice to establish this intriguing theory. In not a few points of detail, he seems to beg the question by introducing such concepts as "active tendency," "specialised curiosity," and so forth.

The third part will be of greatest interest to anthropologists. Professor Bartlett explores a new line of approach to social psychology. It is a pity that his ethnological examples are so trivial. The pivot of his theory is that every cultural group exhibits something analogous to temperament in the individual, which he

calls "preferred persistent tendencies." These determine the cultural reactions of the group to new material as well as the interests of the members—hence both the matter and manner of remembering. The question arises whether this is anything more than an alternative terminology for what ethnologists have been accustomed to describe as culture traits and complexes; and whether the 'persistence' of the 'tendencies' cannot better be understood in terms of their functional dependence on factors like social organisation and economic and legal structure. In so far as the concept seems to imply a psychological principle active in group organization and cultural behaviour, it remains to be established by field work. This section is certainly worthy of a close reading. It abounds in fertile conceptions, reference to which is impossible here.

M. FORTES.

**Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation.** By Edward Westermarck. London: Macmillan & Co., 1933. viii + 190 pp. Price 8s. 6d. **38**

As might be expected, the material for this book is largely taken from the author's works on Morocco, since these are, and will most likely remain, the best collection of material existing. For the same reason, Mohammedanism outside Morocco receives comparatively slight treatment. Starting, then, from those facts of which he has an unrivalled knowledge, Dr. Westermarck proceeds to sift them for traces of pre-Islamic belief and practice. Since these are fairly numerous, this short treatise contains a great deal of matter both interesting and trustworthy.

The chapters deal with subjects already familiar to his readers, viz., 'The Jinn,' 'The Evil Eye,' 'The Curse,' 'Holiness' (two chapters, one on its prevalence, the other on its manifestations and sensitiveness), and finally 'Berber and Roman Survivals in Ritual.' It must not be supposed, however, that no one who has read 'Marriage Ceremonies' and 'Ritual and Belief' need trouble himself with this work. Dr. Westermarck is too fertile a writer to waste paper copying out his own books, and even when the facts are already well known, new light is shed on them by this different arrangement.

So far as the reviewer can judge, the parallels adduced from what we know of pre-Islamic conditions are accurate and just, and the picture which may be drawn from the indications given is correct as far as it goes; that it is not complete no one knows better than the author. These remarks are not invalidated by the small corrections and additions which, because the book is in general so good, I proceed to make in that portion of it which touches my own field.

The citations from classical and post-classical authors are sometimes from antiquated editions, where newer and better ones are easily available. In most cases this matters very little; but on p. 174 (note 3) I have not been able to trace anywhere among the genuine works of St. Chrysostom the interesting passage quoted, as his, from a Latin version of the sixteenth century. On the same page, to prove the existence of a midsummer fire festival in Roman Africa, he quotes Fulgentius, 'Mythol.' i. 11; but the identity of the Fulgentius who wrote this curious work with the fifth-century African Bishop Fulgentius is, to say the least of it, doubtful. On p. 49, he cites at second hand, and from a modern work, the statement that the Romans said *ecce tibi dono quinque* as a precaution against the Evil Eye. I can think of nothing of the kind in any Latin author, and suggest that it is merely a Latin version of some modern Greek formula of the type of *πέρε στρά μάτια σου*, and the like. On p. 79, note 1, that *religio* signifies a 'binding'



of the god, however well it fits the Moroccan parallels, is contradicted by numerous pieces of Roman evidence. On p. 82, the evidence of Arnobius (*adversus gentes*, i, 39, p. 26, 12 Reifferscheid) is less satisfactory than it might be for the tying of rags to sacred trees in Libya. 'I used,' he says, 'when I was a pagan, vainly to worship . . . and instead of continuing simply 'idols' or 'inanimate things,' he goes on, like the verbose rhetorician he is, to give a list of all manner of pagan cult-objects, including 'ribbons on decrepit old trees.' On p. 33, it might be noticed that the great saint who continually holds his hand 'like an umbrella' over the head of the sultan is quite classical; Athena, in Solon,<sup>1</sup> holds hers over Athens; and, on the next page (cf. p. 123) that to transfer *baraka* by spitting into the mouth of the person to be benefited is exactly parallel to the story of Glaukos the son of Minos<sup>2</sup>. Polyidos unwillingly had taught him seer-craft; 'and when he was sailing away, he 'bade Glaukos spit into his mouth, which Glaukos did, 'and forgot his divination.' On p. 100, note 1, the passages quoted from Herodotos do not prove that the Libyans worshipped the sea. The historian says they worshipped Poseidon, who, as he was well aware (cf. vii, 129, 5) was more than simply a sea-god. On p. 117, it should be pointed out that the belief in the virtue of odd numbers was very wide-spread in late antiquity especially, being a Pythagorean tenet. Another thing which sounds Pythagorean is the objection (p. 139) to a schoolboy sitting on a corn-measure. That is almost identical with a Pythagorean tabu (see F. Boehm, 'de symbolis Pyth.', Berlin 1905, p. 38), and it seems very likely that the reason is the same in both cases, viz., the holiness of the corn. On p. 118, the treatise on sevens attributed to Hippokrates is not really his; on p. 144 occurs the only misprint I have noted ('has' for 'have' in the last line but one); on p. 158, Bujlud has a good deal in common with an Ionian *pharmakos*; finally, on p. 168, I gravely doubt if the incidence of the festival called *bunann* has anything to do with the old Roman New Year in March, especially if it really is to be explained by *bonum annum*. March 1 ceased to be the official New Year's Day in 153 B.C., and Mauretania did not officially become a province till A.D. 40. H. J. ROSE.

**Da Alba Longa a Roma, &c.** By G. Sergi. Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1934. 5" x 8". xi + 195 pp. Price 10 lire (paper).

**39** The veteran Sicilian anthropologist whose first published work on the Ligurian race dates from 1883 here continues the line of teaching he has followed uninterruptedly since then, and his vigour and insistence are unabated.

Thus Alba Longa, in whose neighbourhood we find such names as the Alban hills, the Alban lake, and above all Albula (the old name for the Tiber), was a city of the Siculo-Ligurians. Some historians make out that the Liguri and the Siculi were different races: they are, however, identical, as the author has elsewhere proved.

The names of Albium Intemelium, Alba Decitia (on the western Riviera), the Alps themselves, and beyond these the names of the Albienses and Alba Augusta, all in Ligurian territory, show the same origin as Alba and Albula.

The population of Italy and Sicily from which the Roman civilization was destined to rise and to which Rome owes its foundation, was therefore Siculo-Ligurian, a branch of the great Mediterranean non-Aryan stock. The author has a remark to make on

the wild fable of Rome being founded by Indo-Germanic invaders of Italy: he has still more to say about the 'Indo-European or worse still Indo-Germanic narcosis' of those who refuse to accept the non-Aryan Mediterranean race and language as the origin of the Siculo-Ligurian, Etruscan and other races and languages.

The Umbrians and Sabines are Siculo-Ligurians: the Etruscans are Pelasgians from Asia Minor and therefore also a branch of the Mediterranean stock and cousins of the Liguri, Siculi, Ombrici; speaking a language 'related to that of the Liguri and Siculi but perhaps 'with specialized forms so that it should be considered 'to be divergent.'

The Pelasgi, contemporaries of the Liguri and Siculi, came to the shores of Italy but did not penetrate further inland: the cities and buildings in Italy attributed to the Pelasgi are really due to the Siculi, the cultured race which gave the land its original place-names. Samnium, Apulia, Campania, Lucania and Bruttium were all 'Ligurian and Siculan from their origin, with 'Siculan names for their towns and tribes or with 'names of mountains, lakes and rivers that are also 'Siculan.' In Sicily itself 'one cannot distinguish 'between Sicanian and Siculan territory because both 'of these peoples, as well as the Liguri, were branches 'of the same stock and also because in the supposed 'territory of the Sicanian we find names that occur also 'in Liguria.' Numerous names that occur in Sicily—Mylas, Alabon, Motye, Hybla, Gela and others—are Siculan. The name Gela, meaning ice, is Siculan but also Oscan, and the Oscans were of Siculan race.

When the Siculi migrated to the territory which afterwards became Latium, they were divided into numerous tribes under various leaders, hence the Hernici, Volsci, Aurunci and also the Latini who settled above the shores of the Alban and Arician lakes.

Here the author has a footnote with which all will agree, deploring the recent destruction of the lake of Nemi.

The legend of the escaped slave who acted as priest at Nemi, on which Frazer has 'composed his "Golden Bough" in which he attributes great value to this 'legend as though it were genuine,' is, the author conjectures, only a reminiscence of a very ancient Siculan custom.

In conclusion, the neolithic peoples who occupied Italy were branches of the great Mediterranean stock, the Liguri in the North and the Siculi to the South of the Apennines. The Latins were Siculi, 'from Alba Longa 'to Rome,' and Rome maintained its 'primitive Siculan 'constitution of a city-state' throughout its history and kept up many Siculan customs—the Frates Arvales, certain invocations, the Di Tutelares, the lunar year, Vesta and the Penates all come under the heading of 'Examples of Siculan inheritance in Roman mores.'

The book has no map and the 'Index' is only a table of contents. It is nicely printed. J. A. SPRANGER.

**The Abyssinian at Home.** By C. H. Walker. London: The Sheldon Press, 1933. 214 pp. Price 7s. 6d.

**40** This is a description, translated literally from colloquial Amharic, of the manners and customs of the Christian Abyssinian. A large part of it consists of the duties and functions of the priests, for these people are apparently priest-ridden to an extraordinary degree.

Some points worth noting are—both sexes are circumcised; great importance is attached to the neck-ord, which must always be worn by both sexes. The bones of a dead man are sometimes transported to a holy site, and are then replaced in the original grave by the blood and entrails of a sheep (p. 63).

There is a trace of the couvade in the rule which forbids a man whose wife has borne a child to approach

<sup>1</sup> Frag. 3, 4 Diehl.

<sup>2</sup> [Apollodorus], iii, 20.



the church door. Like the possessor of a tape-worm, he is ritually unclean (p. 75).

The incest laws are remarkable. A relationship which is a bar to marriage is set up by adoption, sponsorship, confessorship, bridesmanship, and the common partaking of a ritual meal (pp. 15, 128).

The author tells us that he has bowdlerized the book, which is both instructive and readable. RAGLAN.

**The Bantu Tribes of South Africa: Vol. II, Section III, The Suto-Chuana Tribes; sub-group III, The Southern Basotho.** By A. M. Duggan-Cronin. 41  
Printed at the Cambridge University Press, 1933.

Mr. Duggan-Cronin's photographs of South African natives are now so well known to anthropologists that a detailed account of the present publication is quite unnecessary. It is sufficient to say that this volume deals with Basutoland and its people, and fully maintains the standards set by its predecessors. It contains twenty-six beautiful plates, illustrating mainly the country, the physical types, costumes, and huts. The reviewer has no criticism to make, and merely wishes to express his deep appreciation. The volume does not contain a complete survey of this interesting country and its inhabitants, and a great service would be rendered to South Africa and to anthropology if Mr. Duggan-Cronin could be enabled to continue the excellent work which he has done in attempting to build a photographic record of much scientific and artistic value of the South African cultures.

The volume also contains a useful nine page bibliography by Dr. I. Schapera, and a short, but clear and valuable, introduction of some twelve pages by Professor G. P. Lestrade. R. U. S.

**The Religious and Cosmic Beliefs of Central Polynesia.** By R. W. Williamson. 2 vols. 42  
Royal 8vo. Cambridge University Press, 1933.

In these two volumes Williamson pursues his studies in connection with the peoples of Polynesia. That he is able to produce such a mass of material dealing with his subject is a proof not only of his painstaking work in research, but also of the unsuspected amount of material available for his purpose. His quest ranges from Easter Island to Ontong Java in Northern Melanesia, and from the Ellice Islands almost to Fiji. New Zealand and Hawaii are excluded; though when an island like Fate in the New Hebrides, with its preponderant Melanesian culture, is included, one rather wonders at the exclusion of the other two islands with all the wealth of material available for the correlation of their culture, in the matters considered, with that of Central Polynesia.

The method followed by Williamson in the present book is to take a subject, e.g., the creation myths in his area, and to tabulate what has been recorded of it in the various islands dealt with. Running comments are made on the matter quoted, and a more or less lengthy set of observations is added at the conclusion of a given chapter, with preliminary remarks also at the opening. The greater part of both volumes is taken up with the eschatological question of the disposition of the soul after death, along with observations on *Po* and *Hawaiki*, two of the legendary homes of the dead of the Polynesian peoples. The sky, sun, moon, and stars, earthquakes and volcanoes, and the ideas held concerning them, the soul, both during and after life, certain death customs with their bearing on the question of the soul, all these have their place in the list of things considered. There is excellent material for students in all this, and anthropology is under a lasting debt to the author for the immense trouble he has taken in collecting and tabulating his material.

But Williamson does not seem to have any inward questionings as to the relative values of the evidence provided by his various authorities; he does not differentiate between his sources of information; and seemingly to him Fornander, e.g., is of equal value with Ellis. Tregear's 'Maori Comparative Dictionary,' which (so far as its Maori words are concerned) is founded almost wholly on Williams' 'Maori Dictionary,' is treated as if it were Tregear's own original compilation, and is drawn on for Maori words and their meanings without any reference to its source. Others have dealt similarly with Tregear in the past; thus giving him a place far above his value as an authority, whether on things Maori or things Polynesian. It is surely high time for New Zealand to set about making a 'Polynesian Comparative Dictionary,' using the 'Maori Dictionary' as a taking-off ground for the task.

The final chapter of Williamson's book is devoted to his theory that the earliest religion in Polynesia was a 'Maui-Volcano' cult. This theory was suggested to him by certain remarks of Rivers in the 'History of Melanesian Society.' Maui is considered by Williamson to have been the first 'god' of Central Polynesia; then came such 'gods' as Tane, Rongo, and Atea; and finally Tangaroa. He predicates a mixture of cultures, such as obtains in Melanesia, with the consequent lack of clarity about such ideas as the home or homes of the dead, and the disposition of the soul after death. He seems to have made good his 'Maui-Volcano' theory, and the one-time firmly held opinion about the unity of Polynesian culture is likely to receive another blow. WALTER IVENS.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### Chittagong: Superstitions.

SIR,—Having to spend a few days in the Chittagong Civil Hospital I was surprised to hear what a large proportion of the casualties admitted were due to the violence of gangs of dacoits, mostly Mahomedans and supposed to be the descendants of the Chittagong pirates, who roam the district. 43

On November 23, 1933, a body of police surprised a gang of about 40 in the act of robbing a house, bringing three of them to the mortuary and eleven more to jail on November 24.

The mortuary being near the hospital and several patients recent victims of such gangs, this caused quite a little stir of talking. What interested me particularly was to learn that it is customary for dacoits in this

district to spread a shroud, stolen from a corpse, over the roof of a house, to prevent sleepers waking. Some of my informants said that any part of a corpse would do equally well and one even suggested that a dead jackal had the same effect.

This superstition seems to be a variant of the 'Hand of Glory' referred to in the 'Ingoldsby Legends.' As far as my memory goes the English practice was to cut the hand from a gibbet-corpse and, after making it into a sort of torch with resin, to set it in the house to be robbed, lighting the five finger tips to the spell:—

"Sleep all who sleep, wake all who wake,  
Be as the dead for the dead man's sake."

E. O. SHEBBEARE.

## Egypt: Rock Drawings.

**44** SIR,—I have been much interested in rock drawings north of Khartoum, as there is historical evidence that the Arabs who inhabited (or travelled through) the district south of Khartoum used to cross the Nile at a ford near the Shabluka gorge.

This was done to avoid the flies which attacked and killed their animals. I suggest that many of these rock drawings represent animals seen by the artist and not necessarily located at the place where the drawings were made, at that time. The giraffe and the elephant were to be found in the Khor Baraka and on the River Rahad (whence some of these Arabs crossed to the western banks) as late as 1870.

There is a Meroitic rock painting south of Khartoum, but it is entirely different in character to the camel and giraffe drawings.

I am inclined to think that the camel and giraffe drawings do not date prior to the Christian era, or the date fixed by Dr. Reisner for the camel statuette found at Meroe.

The rock drawings at Adila (water hole), an ancient mining site near Halfa, were described by Mr. Dunn (*vide* "Sudan Notes and Records," Vol. III, 1919, page 93), and comprise one of an eight-oared boat with a high stern and cabin. Those at Jebel Geili are Meroitic and are illustrated in the same journal. There are no drawings of camels. There were three fords across the Nile which were in use by Arabs until the development of steam navigation and the building of the Aswan dam. They were situated at Kostamneh between Aswan and Derr, where the forces of Muhammad Ali Pasha attacked the Mamelukes, who were trying to escape west; in the Shabluka Gorge, near Jebel Gerri, where taxes were collected from nomad Arabs who crossed to the west; and at Duem, on the White Nile, where an ancient road from Abyssinia to Kordofan and Darfur crossed the Nile. All these fords have been of great strategic importance in Sudan history and there are ancient remains near Kostamneh and Jebel Gerri. At present the date of the introduction of the domesticated camel into territory west of the Nile is controversial, and although it is possible that the Arab auxiliaries of Cambyses deserted his armies and thus caused the disasters to his expeditions, there is no evidence at present to support such a theory.

ARTHUR E. ROBINSON.

## Bride-Price, Homeric and Albanian.

**45** SIR,—The very interesting notes of Mrs. Hasluck and Professor Myres (*MAN*, 1933, 203, 204), leave, I think, one thing more to be said. The truculent person who divorced his wife for barrenness and demanded the bride-price back may have been quite out of tune with modern sentiment in Albania; but I am not so sure that in earlier days he would not have had the law on his side. At least, I believe a Homeric Greek would have seen his point, even if he did not admire his conduct: *summum ius summa iniuria*.

The long correspondence on African bride-price (or whatever term is used to denote the payment made by the prospective husband; I hold no brief for any particular word) seems at all events to have made one point pretty clear, namely, that the wife is not bought in any proper sense, and that, as Captain H. F. Stoneham put it (*MAN*, 1930, 60), bride-price is "the means which ensure the legal filiation of the children of the union." In other words, the legal father of a woman's children is he who, before their birth, has paid what perhaps may be regarded as compensation in advance to her family (clan, tribe, or other group) for the loss of those children's services.

I do not remember to have seen it remarked that this was the effect of the Homeric *ἑδρα* when it means bride-price (Professor Myres is of course quite right in saying that it sometimes does not). Yet this seems to follow from a very interesting passage of the *Iliad*, xvi, 173 seq. In this, the captains of the Myrmidons are listed, and two of them were children of gods. One of these, Menesthios, was "the son of Spercheios the rain-fed river, whom Peleus' daughter, Polykaste the fair, bore to unwearied Spercheios, a woman bedded with a god; but in name she bare him to Boros the son of Perieres, who came a-wooing openly, bringing bride-price past counting." Menesthios, then, would seem to have been born after his mother was married to Boros.

The other was Eudoros, son of Hermes and Polymele. "But when Eileithyia of the pains of labour brought him forth into the light and he beheld the sun's beams, Echeekles the mighty, son of Aktor, led her to his house, when he had paid a very great bride-price; but the child old Phylas (Polymele's father) reared." Here the child was born before the payment of the bride-price, and so did not count as his son of his mother's mortal husband. No one thought any the worse of Polymele for having had so exalted a lover, and certainly the baby was far from "unwanted"; Phylas "made much of him, as though he had been his own son."

H. J. ROSE.

## The WaSokile.

**46** SIR,—In *MAN*, 1934, 21, Professor T. C. Hodson contributes a note on 'name-giving' among a North-Nyasaland people whom he titles *WaSokile*.

The *Ngonde* people of Northern Nyasaland and their cousins across the border in Southern Tanganyika, the *Nyakyusa*, have conventional forms of greeting one another according to time of day, personal occupation of the moment and so on. One of these greetings is '*Usokile!*' to one who is up and about the day's work, in distinction to '*Ughonile!*' to one not yet beyond the early morning lounging stage, '*Wendile!*' to one obviously having arrived from somewhere else, '*Uwombile!*' to one who has been at some piece of work, and so on. Other peoples seized upon this unusual practice and selected '*Usokile!*' as, apparently, the most frequently heard form, to provide a nick-name. Thus both *Ngonde* in Nyasaland and *Nyakyusa* in Tanganyika Territory are frequently referred to as *WaSokile* by other Africans and as '*The Sokile*' or '*Sokiles*' by Europeans. What Professor Hodson describes ought to be listed as '*Ngonde-Nyakyusa practice*' and the name *Sokile* should disappear.

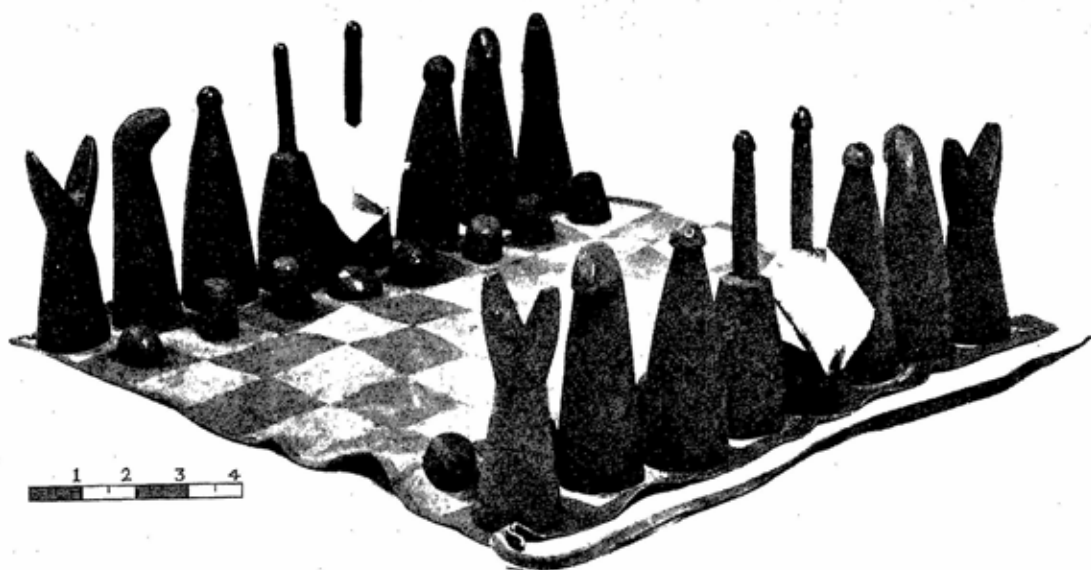
T. CULLEN YOUNG.

W. E. Roth, Catalogue of Publications (cf. *MAN* 1933, 185; 221).

**47** The editor is indebted to Dr. B. Bonnerjea for the following additions to the above:—

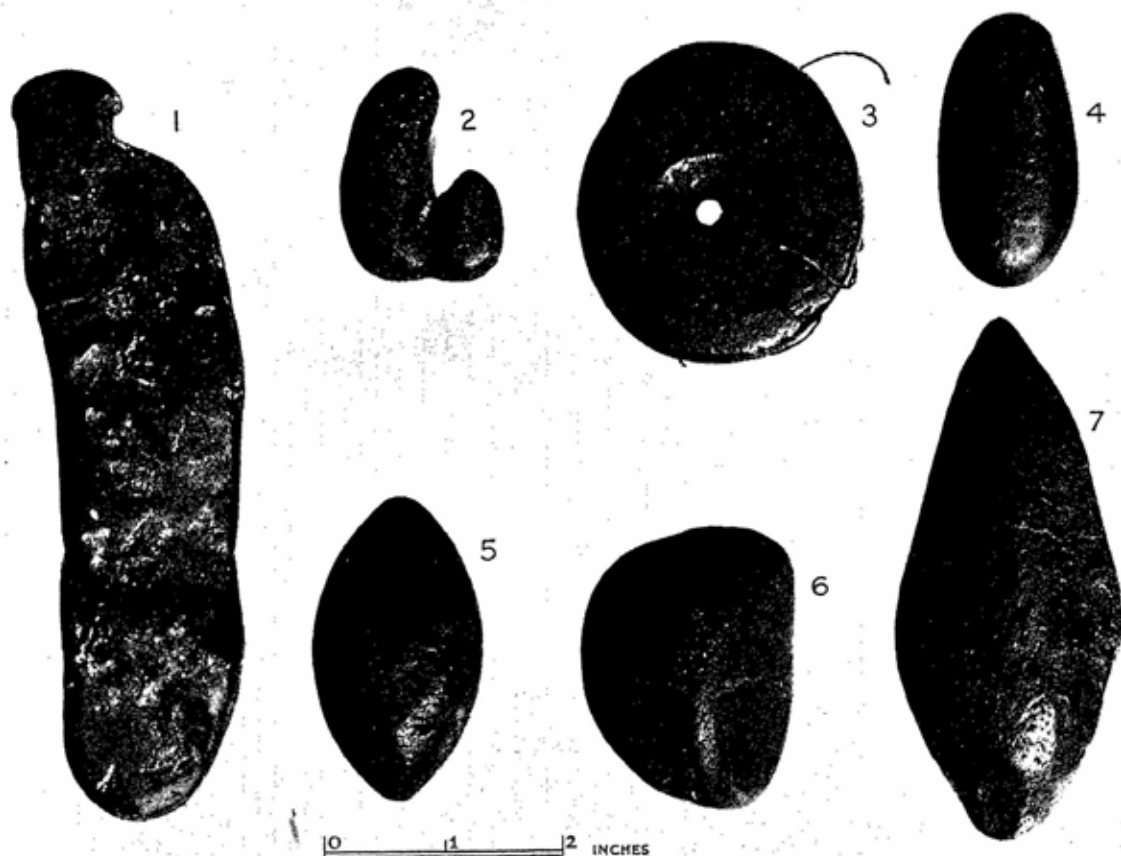
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- 1911. '(The Same), Part III,' *ibid.*, vol. XLI, pp. 72-82.
- 1912. '(The Same), Part IV,' *ibid.*, vol. XLII, pp. 529-540.
- 1915. 'An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-lore of the Guiana Indians,' 30th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn. for 1908-9, pp. 103-386.
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**1. CHESS SET FROM BORNU, NIGERIA.**

*(By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum: scale in inches.)*



**2. MAGICAL STONES, FROM MOTA, BANKS ISLANDS, NEW HEBRIDES.**

*(The property of Miss Florence E. Coombe.)*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

African.

With Plate C. 1.

Meek.

Chess in Bornu, Nigeria. By C. K. Meek.

In 1926 I obtained for the British Museum a chess set from Bornu Province, Nigeria (Pl. C. 1). The game is known to the Kanuri as Tsatsarandi, an obvious corruption of the Arabic term Shatranj. It is said to have been a court game at the old Bornu capital of Birni Ngasr Gomo. The pieces are named and arranged as follows:—

48

1	Kaigamma	Fer	Bintu	Chiroma	Mai	Bintu	Fer	Kaigamma
2	Gollo	Gollo	Gollo	Gollo	Gollo	Gollo	Gollo	Gollo
3								
4								
5								
6								
7	Gollo	Gollo	Gollo	Gollo	Gollo	Gollo	Gollo	Gollo
8	Kaigamma	Fer	Bintu	Chiroma	Mai	Bintu	Fer	Kaigamma

DIAGRAM OF THE CHESSBOARD IN PLATE C.

*Kaigamma* = general or commander-in-chief. *Fer* = horse. *Bintu* = court officials.  
*Chiroma* = heir apparent. *Mai* was the title of the ancient kings of Bornu.

Captain Lloyd Carson and I witnessed a game being played at Maiduguri. The moves were the same as our own.

In one respect the game differs from ours, for it was permissible, apparently, to try to distract an opponent by keeping up a patter of conversation or interjections such as "kus-kus-kus-kus."

The pieces are of wood, black and white. The *Mai* is identical with the *Chiroma*, except that it has a small piece of white cloth attached, to distinguish it. The chessboard is of soft leather, with squares in red and natural colour, and serves as a wrapping to contain the pieces when not in use.

C. K. MEEK.



## Melanesia.

## With Plate C. 2.

## Coombe : Brauholtz.

Magical Stones from Mota, Banks Islands, Melanesia. By Florence E. Coombe and H. J. Brauholtz.

**49** The objects illustrated in Plate C. 2 were given to Miss Florence E. Coombe about twenty years ago by an old chief in the Island of Mota of the Banks Group, New Hebrides.

Miss Coombe states that they were believed, by him, to possess various magical properties, which he felt, as a Christian, he ought no longer to use. In his own words, they did not seem to "fit the Faith." Of their origin he knew nothing; they had been picked up as being unusual in shape, and therefore suspected of being full of "mana." Apparently no tradition of their original use remained.

In the following account of these objects I give first (a) a short description of their appearance and probable original function, and secondly (b) the native's version of their magical use, for which I am indebted to Miss Coombe.

FIG. 1. (a) Subrectangular piece of clam-shell, much weathered and patinated brown. Length,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in. Section roughly triangular.<sup>1</sup>



Probably originally an adze-head, similar to one from Ontong-Java (Liueniua) in the British Museum.

(b) Known as *garame goe* = "pig's tongue." Before going out to bargain for pigs, a man licks the tip of the shell, his tongue thereby acquiring such persuasive power that the owner cannot refuse his offer.

FIG. 2. (a) Mottled grey soapstone object resembling a fish-hook. Circular in section.

(b) Known as *gagaleva* = "magic hook." Used to counteract a malevolent charm. A man announces that he has bound another by a charm (preventing him from obtaining money or pigs for *suge*) and to prevent its discovery and destruction has thrown it into the sea. With this hook, however, the man standing on the shore stretches out his hand and draws out the invisible power, rendering the charm harmless.

FIG. 3. (a) Disc of dark hard stone with central biconical perforation, evidently made with a stone drill; rectangular in section. This was probably originally the fly-wheel of a pump-drill.

(b) Used to procure money for purchasing rank in the *suge*. A man would hang it beside his sleeping mat, and a suggestion would travel to some relative or friend that he should bring him a gift of money.

The fact that the pump-drill was used to bore the shell discs used as money may explain the association of ideas in this case;<sup>2</sup> but it is equally probable that the shape of this stone, which resembles a shell disc in an enlarged form, suggested the magical idea.

FIG. 4. (a) Polished black pebble, oval in section, with the undersurface ground flat. Resembles a burnishing stone for pottery, or a small grinder.



(b) Ensures a good catch of flying-fish. The fisher dangles it over the edge of his canoe singing to the fish in the sea to come and join this, their brother.

FIG. 5. (a) Biconical sling-stone of dark grey heavy stone, resembling hæmatite. Circular in section.

(b) Among the most valued property in the Banks Islands is the *rawe*, a hermaphrodite pig, not easy to acquire. If a man could succeed in tying this stone unobserved to the leg of a *rawe*, the owner would thereby be influenced to consent to part with it.

FIG. 6. (a) Grinding stone (?) of dark grey basalt. Roughly hemispherical with flat under-surface and two very shallow parallel grooves encircling the basal edge.



(b) Known as *qeresnam* = lower (growing) end of yam. To ensure a plentiful yam crop, this is buried at the first planting in the same hole with a piece of real yam, and influences the whole garden.

FIG. 7. (a) Dark brown heavy stone (hæmatite?), with natural facets, resembling a nut pod. Roughly pentagonal in section. No sign of human work.



(b) Curiously shaped stone, known as *Ro Som* = "the money woman." A man

<sup>1</sup> The diagrams accompanying Figs. 1, 4 and 7 represent approximate transverse sections of the objects. <sup>2</sup> If so, it is clear that the original function of this artifact was recognized.

wishing to get money for *suge* rank, puts this stone in his bag with his strings of money in the morning, and on measuring them in the evening he finds they have increased.

Except in the case of Figs. 4 and 7, the magical function of these stones seems obviously to have been suggested either by their shape or use.

H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ.

**The Asymmetry of the Occipital Region of the Brain and Skull.** By Professor W. E. Le Gros Clark, D.Sc., F.R.C.S. Read at the discussion reported below. MAN, 1934, 55.

The characteristic asymmetry of the human brain, associated with asymmetry of the intradural venous sinuses and of the skull, was discussed many years ago by Professor Elliot Smith. His observations on the greater projection of the left occipital pole of the cerebral hemisphere and its relation to the deviation to the right side of the superior longitudinal sinus at the *Torcular Herophili* have been confirmed by all other anatomists who have concerned themselves with this matter, and the elaborate and skilful measurements of Dr. Wagner on the dimensions of the intracranial cavity in a large number of skulls have served once again to corroborate them. The significance of the asymmetry, however, still remains obscure.

Several years ago, while I was in Borneo (1920-1923), I directed my attention to this problem. My studies are far from complete, but since it is improbable that I shall have time in the near future to pursue them further, I wish to submit the observations that I have made in the hope that they may provide a basis for detailed research by others whom they may interest.

In the occipital region of the skull and brain there are at least three distinct types of asymmetry which may vary independently of one another and which are almost certainly related to quite different factors.

First of all, the whole calvarium may be affected by a general skew asymmetry. This I found to be quite obtrusive in the brachycephalic Chinese male population of Sarawak. Since these people commonly keep their heads clean-shaven, it is an easy matter to observe their cranial contour in the

norma verticalis in the living subject. Out of 115 observations, 52 (or 45 per cent.) showed a skew asymmetry to one side or the other. This type of asymmetry is represented diagrammatically in Fig. 1, in which it is seen that one frontal eminence and the opposite occipital eminence project in advance of their fellows of the opposite side, while the transverse level of the external ears deviates in a corresponding direction, one being slightly in advance of the other. I have surmised the possibility that this skew asymmetry may represent a persistence of the moulding of the foetal head which is brought about by the pressure exerted on it during the last stages of pregnancy and during parturition. It may be objected that this moulding is too transitory to produce such a lasting result. But I would point out that in some of the races of mankind which practice artificial deformation of the head, very pronounced and permanent distortion may be produced by remarkably little pressure applied to the infant's head during the first few months of life (e.g., the Milanaus of Sarawak<sup>1</sup>). The skew asymmetry of the head may vary independently of the asymmetry of the dural sinuses and the occipital lobe of the brain.

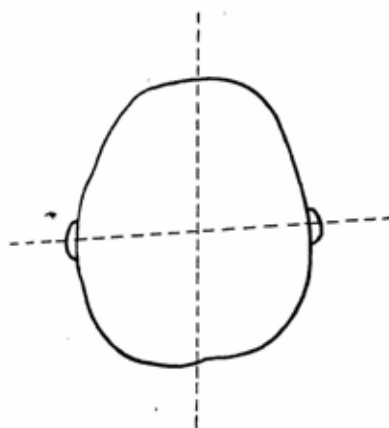


FIG. 1. DIAGRAM REPRESENTING THE COMMON TYPE OF SKEW ASYMMETRY SEEN IN THE NORMA VERTICALIS OF THE CHINESE HEAD.

Secondly, there is the asymmetry of the venous sinuses at the *Torcular Herophili*. Commonly, in man, the superior longitudinal sinus turns to the right either completely or in greater part to continue on as the right transverse sinus, while the straight sinus empties into the left transverse sinus. The reverse asymmetry may, however, occur, or, in some cases, the superior longitudinal sinus divides approximately evenly to empty into both transverse sinuses. The *Torcular* asymmetry

<sup>1</sup> J. Hewitt and A. E. Lawrence, *Journ Straits Branch Royal Asiatic Soc.* No. 60, 1911, p. 69.

is a characteristic feature of *Homo sapiens*, but it is by no means confined to modern man. It is very pronounced in such ancient forms as *Eoanthropus* and *Sinanthropus*. It is also sometimes to be observed, though not so obtrusively, in the anthropoid apes. In a gorilla, a report on whose brain and endocranial cavity was published by me in the *Journal of Anatomy*, Vol. 61, 1927, the superior longitudinal sinus divided unequally, the greater part terminating in the right transverse sinus. The straight sinus, however, opened in the mid-line at the *confluens sinuum*. This sinus asymmetry in the gorilla was associated with a greater projection backwards of the left occipital pole, as is usually the case in man. In the Old World monkeys (*Cercopithecidae*) the sinuses in the occipital region are usually symmetrically disposed, but not always. I have examined a *Macacus* and a *Nasalis* monkey in which the superior longitudinal sinus divided slightly unevenly, rather more of it passing to the right side. In both these cases the straight sinus opened into the commencement of the left transverse sinus.

The typical human asymmetry of the venous sinuses at the *Torcular* is not (I feel convinced) directly related to any local factor, such as mechanical pressure on these vessels. In the first place, the reverse asymmetry may occur in association with a normal asymmetry of the brain, or *vice versa*. Secondly, the sinus asymmetry becomes established extraordinarily early in the development of the human embryo—at the 20 mm. stage<sup>2</sup>, that is to say, long before the cortical areas of the cerebral hemisphere begin to undergo differentiation, and before there is any demonstrable asymmetry of the brain as a whole. In the mode of development of the normal asymmetry (in which the longitudinal sinus deviates to the right) from a diffuse plexus of veins at the site of the *Torcular*, a resemblance is shown to the analogous changes which occur at the root of the neck, in which the left anterior cardinal vein is switched over to the right anterior cardinal vein by the development of the left innominate, so that the venous blood from the head and neck and upper extremities may be returned to the right auricle of the heart.

It can certainly be demonstrated that venous asymmetry in the head is by no means confined to the occipital region. There is a small foramen at the base of the skull—the *Foramen Vesalii*—which is inconstant but, when present, transmits an emissary vein from the cavernous sinus inside the skull. Out of 16 skulls which I examined in which the foramen was present, it was larger on the right side (in association with the normal asymmetry of the superior longitudinal sinus) in 10 cases. There is another vein in the head in which the same type of asymmetry is present—the frontal vein. This vessel may easily be studied by the casual observer, for it courses down subcutaneously on the forehead on either side of the mid-line, and stands out very conspicuously after vigorous exercise. Out of 19 individuals in which I have noted the relative sizes of the two frontal veins, the right vessel was the larger in 14 cases.

Thus it is probable that the asymmetry of the sinuses at the *Torcular Herophili* is merely one expression of a general asymmetry affecting the venous system as a whole in the head and neck region. Why this asymmetry should be so pronounced in man as compared with lower mammals is a matter which requires elucidation.

The third type of asymmetry in the occipital region is that which affects the occipital lobe of the brain. Elliot Smith has recorded that normally the *area striata* (or visuo-sensory area) of the cortex has a greater lateral extension on the left occipital pole, and that this is associated with a greater prominence of the left pole and a tendency for the development of a more typical and more primitive *sulcus lunatus* on this side. I found that this asymmetry is very striking in the brains of Chinese and Dyaks, for in these races the *sulcus lunatus* on the left side is often remarkably large and operculated, approximating to the simian condition. This feature has been dealt with in a detailed fashion by my friend Professor Shellshear of Hongkong University during recent years. The normal asymmetry of the occipital cortex is usually associated with a right-sided deviation of the superior longitudinal sinus, and this suggests that the sinus is diverted to the right as the result of the pressure of the more prominent left occipital pole. But there is no constant relation between the sinus asymmetry and the asymmetry of the striate area. I have in my notes records of two

<sup>2</sup> G. L. Streeter: *Amer. Journ. Anat.*, Vol. 18, 1915.

right-handed Chinese in which the reverse striate asymmetry was associated with the normal sinus asymmetry, and of a European in which the reverse sinus asymmetry (most of the superior longitudinal sinus passing into the left transverse sinus) was accompanied by a normal striate asymmetry. Nor is the striate asymmetry necessarily correlated with the skew asymmetry of the skull, for they also may vary independently.

Lastly we come to the question of the relation between asymmetry of the occipital region of the skull and brain, and right- and left-handedness. It has been suggested that the normal sinus and striate asymmetry is associated with right-handedness, and the reverse type of asymmetry with left-handedness. My own observations have not confirmed this conception. I have records and drawings of the brains and sinuses of four left-handed individuals (that is to say, they always used their left hands in manual work), and three of these are represented in Fig. 2. In all these cases,

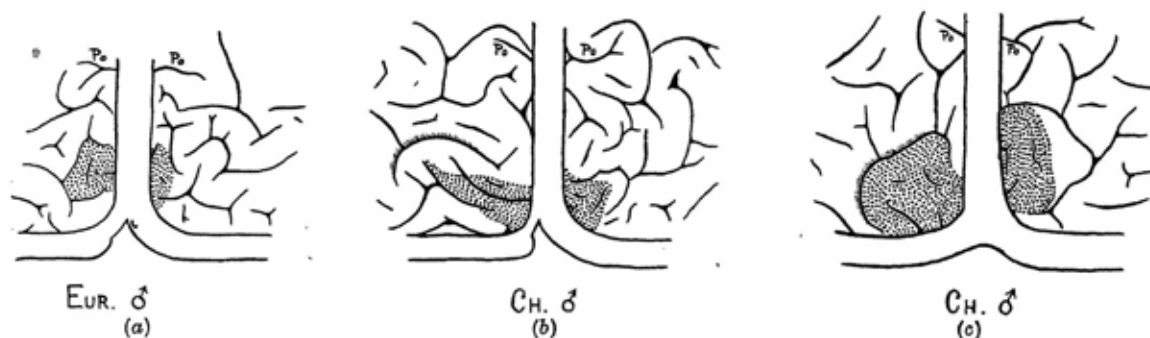


FIG. 2. THE OCCIPITAL LOBES OF THE BRAIN AND VENOUS SINUSES IN THREE LEFT-HANDED INDIVIDUALS. THE AREA STRIATA IS STIPPLED. PO: EXTERNAL PARIETO-OCCIPITAL FISSURE.

the sinus asymmetry and the asymmetry of the occipital cortex were of the normal variety. In the European example (a), the greater part of the longitudinal sinus deviates to the right, while the straight sinus divides to open into both transverse sinuses. The striate area is more extensive on the left occipital pole and extends up to a well-marked but not an operculated lunate sulcus. In the first Chinese figured (b), the asymmetry of the venous sinuses was very pronounced and of the normal type. The exposed part of the *area striata* is again more extensive on the left side, but it does not reach to the crescentic operculated sulcus which is evidently the equivalent of the lunate sulcus<sup>3</sup>. In the second Chinese (c), the division of the superior longitudinal sinus is much less uneven, but in this case also the greater part continues into the right transverse sinus, while the straight sinus opens to the left of the mid-line. The fourth case of left-handedness, of which I have notes, is that of a Dyak. In this instance there was a very typical *sulcus lunatus* on the left side with a considerable extension of the striate cortex on to the lateral surface of the occipital pole, while on the right side the sulci showed a much less typical arrangement with a much smaller extension of the striate area on to the lateral aspect of the hemisphere. I have also records of four cases of right-handedness associated with a reverse asymmetry of the longitudinal sinus, i.e., in which this sinus turned left to join the left transverse sinus. These latter cases, however, are perhaps of negative value, for the right-handedness in these individuals might conceivably have been acquired and not natural.

From the data which I have submitted, it appears that the problem of cranial and cerebral asymmetry in man is still far from being solved. Its significance will not, I fear, be elucidated by the mere measuring of skulls, with whatever meticulous accuracy these measurements may be made. The underlying factors of this asymmetry are only likely to be brought to light by an investigator who pursues his studies armed with a knowledge of human and comparative anatomy, of the mechanics of early embryological development, and of the morphological principles underlying cortical differentiation and expansion.

W. E. LE GROS CLARK.

<sup>3</sup> Hence the extent of the *area striata* cannot be defined with certainty by reference to this sulcus in the uncut brain.

## England: Bronze Age.

Stone, Kennard and Tildesley.

A Case of Bronze Age Cephalotaphy on Easton Down in Wiltshire. By J. F. S. Stone, B.A., D.Phil.

With reports by A. S. Kennard, A.L.S., F.G.S., and Miss M. L. Tildesley.

**51** Well authenticated instances of the very ancient rite<sup>1</sup> of burial of the head alone, termed by Professor R. A. S. Macalister 'Cephalotaphy,'<sup>2</sup> are sufficiently rare in England to merit special note. A few cases of skulls found separately are recorded but, since of these some lacked lower jaws and cervical vertebrae whilst others lack any record of their presence, their occurrence is very probably due to subsequent disturbance and cephalotaphy cannot be deduced therefrom.

During recent investigations in the Beaker-Folk dwelling pits which surround the cluster of flint mine shafts on Easton Down, South Wiltshire, a small low barrow, hitherto unrecorded, was discovered on the site.<sup>3</sup> This barrow, which is 23 feet in diameter and 2 feet high, is situated in Lat. 51° 7' 14" and Long. 1° 39' 33" W. Though not readily visible during excavation, aerial photographs indicate that it has possibly been reduced in height by the plough.

A trench 6 feet wide, cut through from the south-east side, disclosed the body of the barrow as composed almost entirely of chalk rubble extracted from the encircling ditch. This rubble was covered by turf and mould with small flints to a depth of 8 inches. The ditch itself was square in section, 2 feet 3 inches wide and cut into the chalk to a depth of 16 inches. Though lacking any dateable object the layers of silting in this ditch afford very strong evidence for the period of erection of the barrow. Below a 10-inch layer of mould there occurs a shell-filled band of humus containing numbers of well-patinated flint flakes. This band is 8 inches thick and overlies the primary chalk silting which is of the same thickness. Since similar bands of shell-laden soil are found in the habitation layers of the neighbouring pit dwellings and in the filling of the mine shafts, a sample was submitted to Mr. A. S. Kennard, A.L.S., whose report, here gratefully acknowledged, is appended.

The centre of the barrow had been somewhat disturbed by rabbits, but there was no evidence of human disturbance. Very slightly north of central was a comparatively large cist 5 feet 6 inches

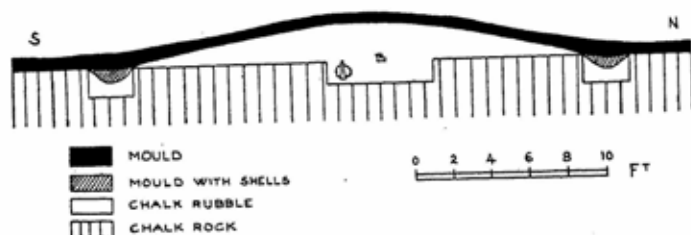


FIG. 1.

long by 3 feet 2 inches wide (Fig. 1). This was cut 12 inches into the chalk below the original surface, the total depth from the top of the barrow being 3 feet 8 inches. The sides of the cist were uniform and the base was flat and even. Lying in the south-west corner was an almost perfect skull 12 inches from the west wall and 7 inches from the south.

It lay on its left parietal and faced south—with the skull base, therefore, towards the west wall—and had been pillowed on 6 inches of chalk dust. Both the atlas and axis were articulated in their normal position but the lower jaw had been moved by rabbits and lay in their scrape 2 feet away. On removal, both vertebrae fell away (also, incidentally, the four incisors) proving that the head itself had never been moved since the rotting of the flesh.

The cist was filled with chalk dust. The whole of its contents, and the material above, was sifted, but this did not produce a particle of any other bone. Had the grave been opened previously and the greater part of the skeleton removed, it is impossible (unless done of set purpose and with extreme care) that no smallest finger-bone should have been left behind. We are thus forced to the conclusion that the head had been buried alone intentionally, a conclusion corroborated by its undisturbed position, since no body could have been attached to it with its base only a foot away from the west wall.

Propped up against the vault of the skull and erect upon its broader end was a roughly chipped

<sup>1</sup> Compare the thirty-three decapitated skulls of Azilian Age found in the Ofnet cave, Bavaria (R. R. Schmidt. *Mannus*, 1910, II, p. 56).

<sup>2</sup> *Textbook of European Archaeology*. 1921, I, p. 433.

<sup>3</sup> *Wills. Arch. Mag.* 1931, XLV, p. 350.



bar of flint 9½ inches long, ¾ inch wide at one end and 3½ inches at the other, and averaging 2 inches in thickness (Fig. 2). Whilst the amount of cortex left upon it would preclude its ever having been intended for a tool, there is no doubt that it has been intentionally flaked. Few of the removed flakes have, however, penetrated to the flint, since the cortex is ½ inch thick.

Though no dateable object was buried with the skull nor in the body of the barrow itself, indirect evidence suggests a very probable period for the burial—that of the Early Bronze Age. The situation of the barrow, which itself is of early form, amongst the dwelling pits of the Beaker-Folk, combined with the very distinct Beaker characters possessed by the skull, suggest this date, though the persistence of this type of skull into much later times precludes our regarding its evidence as conclusive. It is here that the band of shells from the ditch proves of value. Mr. Kennard has found that these shells are identical with those obtained from the flint mines and from the habitation layers of the Beaker dwellings on this site. Excavations in the flint mine shafts and surface workshop floors have proved in two instances<sup>4</sup> that the damp woodland period, conducive to the life of myriads of snails, coincided with the mining period. Further, such bands of shell-filled soil are found not above but only in the original turf level of a peculiar Middle Bronze Age urnfield a few yards away<sup>5</sup>; nor are they found in any subsequent stratified deposit on the down. The upper limiting date for these shell deposits lies therefore somewhere between the Early and Middle Bronze Ages. We can thus safely ascribe this burial to the Beaker dwellers of Easton Down.

Whilst a discussion of the significance of cephalotaphy lies outside the scope of this paper it is worth recalling that head burial is frequently associated with fertility cults. The chipped bar of flint found erect against the skull is definitely suggestive of a phallus. If this interpretation of the two objects as fertility symbols is correct, it is remarkable that they should have been found together.

The writer is indebted to Miss M. L. Tildesley for the appended report on the skeletal remains. Both the skull and flint bar have been deposited in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

J. F. S. STONE.

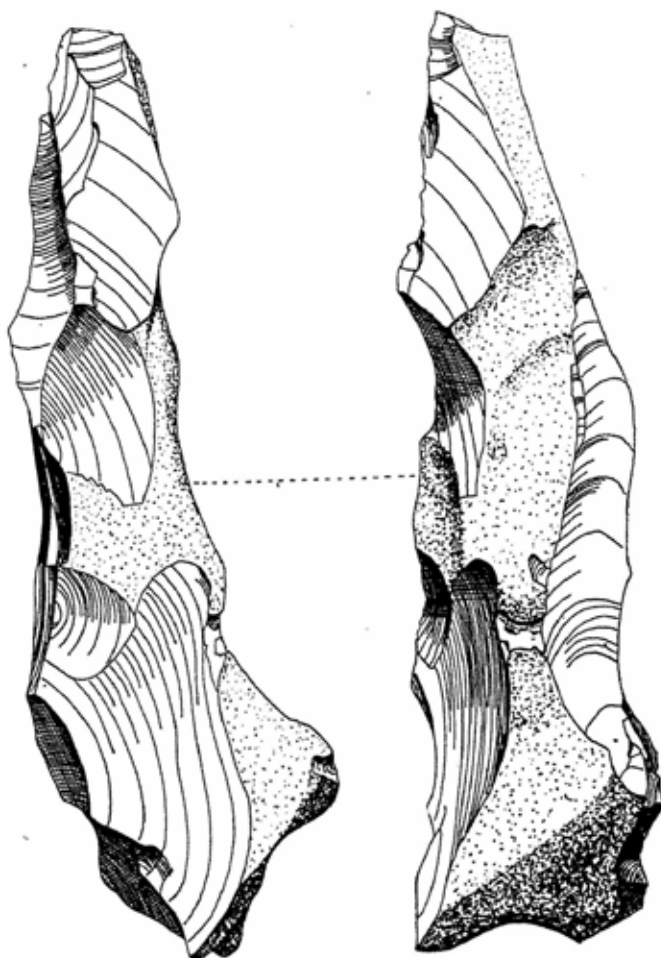


FIG. 2. FLINT IMPLEMENT FROM EASTON DOWN, WILTSHIRE.  
(One-half scale).

<sup>4</sup> See Pit Bla of the 'Flint Mine Report.' (*Wills. Arch. Mag.* 1931, XLV, p. 351.) The other instance has not yet been recorded.

<sup>5</sup> To be published in the June number of the *Wills. Arch. Mag.*

## Report on the Non-marine Mollusca. By A. S. Kennard, A.L.S., F.G.S.

**52** Eighteen species of mollusca were obtained from Layer 2 of the ditch :—

<i>Pomatias elegans</i> (Müll.)	- Common.	<i>Goniodiscus rotundatus</i> (Müll.)	4 examples.
<i>Carychium minimum</i> Müll.	- 1 example.	<i>Arion</i> sp.	- Abundant.
<i>Pupilla muscorum</i> (Linn.)	- Common.	<i>Ceciloides acicula</i> (Müll.)	- 2 examples.
<i>Vertigo pygmaea</i> (Drap.)	- 2 examples.	<i>Helicella radiatula</i> (Ald.)	- 2 examples.
<i>Vallonia pulchella</i> (Müll.)	- 3 examples.	<i>Xerophila itala</i> (Linn.)	- Common.
<i>Vallonia excentrica</i> Sterki	- Common.	<i>Trochulus hispidus</i> (Linn.)	- 5 examples.
<i>Vallonia costata</i> (Müll.)	- 4 examples.	<i>Chilolrema lapicida</i> (Linn.)	- 4 examples.
<i>Cochlicopa lubrica</i> (Müll.)	- Common.	<i>Cepaea nemoralis</i> (Linn.)	- 9 examples.
<i>Punctum pygmaeum</i> (Drap.)	- 2 examples.	<i>Clausilia rugosa</i> Drap.	- Apical fragment.

Band formulæ of *Cepaea nemoralis* :—

00000	-	-	4 examples.
(12345)	-	-	4 examples.
12345	-	-	1 example.

This faunule is identical with that obtained from the flint mines and Beaker dwellings. It is essentially a shade loving fauna and could not exist on an open down, and it is clear that when these shells lived on Easton Down there must have been either woodland or scrub growth there and probably the former.

A. S. KENNARD.

## Report on the Human Remains. By M. L. Tildesley.

**53** Dr. Stone's careful and excellent study of the cist on Easton Down having demonstrated that it had received no complete body, but a head alone, it would have been of great interest to see whether the vertebrae at which the head was presumably severed exhibited any traces of cuts. Unfortunately, though both atlas and axis were found attached to the skull, the axis was too greatly decayed to retain any such marks or indeed to be preserved. Of the remaining bones, cranium and atlas are almost intact, and while decay has eroded the lower border of the mandible and removed the greater part of its rami, the lower dental arch is complete.

*Age and Sex.*—The individual is obviously male. As to age, the two most important criteria—sutures and teeth—would, if taken alone, give rather different impressions. The sutures are all obliterated endocranially, and for the most part ectocranially also, the three main sutures being still clear only where the coronal is crossed by the temporal ridges, and in the lower part of the lambdoid. From a study of the suture closure of 307 men of European stock and known age, by T. Wingate Todd and D. W. Lyon, Jr.,<sup>6</sup> we learn that the endocranial sutures are the more reliable guide to age, and that the observed condition is normally attained in the late forties or still later. The condition of the teeth of our specimen would incline us to the earliest age compatible with the sutural condition. Though no case was found in the 307 examined by Todd and Lyon in which the three main sutures were all completely closed endocranially before the late forties, the lambdoid, usually (though not always) the last of the three to unite, was found closed in one individual as young as forty years (the coronal being still somewhat open). It would seem therefore very improbable that the individual under examination could have been younger than the early forties.

For this age his teeth are in strikingly good condition. They were all present at death, though the left upper incisors are now missing. None shows any sign of disease; and though there has been a certain amount of wear—enough to necessitate the formation of a small amount of secondary dentine on the crowns of the premolars and first molars of the upper jaw and premolars of the lower, and on the incisors of both jaws (the lower incisors having been subjected to considerable hard usage)—the amount of attrition is not more than is often found in the thirties or even late twenties. If his food was hard and gritty, his teeth must have been unusually resistant to the wear imposed. Incidentally, it may be noted that the teeth used for biting off were relatively more worn than those used for chewing; whether this indicates a use of the front teeth for other purposes than eating, I do not claim to know.

<sup>6</sup> American Journ. of Phys. Anthropol. VII, p. 325; VIII, p. 23.

	EASTON DOWN SKULL <sup>1</sup>	BRONZE AGE ♂				LA TÈNE AND ROMANO-BRITISH ♂				ANGLO-SAXON ♂			
		MEAN	STANDARD DEVN.	DEVN. OF EASTON DOWN	DEVN. S.D.	MEAN	STANDARD DEVN.	DEVN. OF EASTON DOWN	DEVN. S.D.	MEAN	STANDARD DEVN.	DEVN. OF EASTON DOWN	DEVN. S.D.
F. (max. ophyo- occip. length).	176.5	182.8 ± .42 90	5.88 ± .30	-6.3	1.07	187.2 ± .41 89	5.71 ± .29	-10.7	1.87	188.9 ± .38 94	5.49 ± .27	-14.4	2.63 (1 chance in 233)
B. (max. breadth).	145.5	149.9 ± .48 89	6.67 ± .34	-4.4	0.66	141.4 ± .34 102	5.08 ± .24	+4.1	.81	141.7 ± .38 103	5.79 ± .27	+3.8	.66
H' (basio-bregm. height).	128.5	134.9 ± ? 25	—	-6.4	—	132.9 ± .43 77	5.53 ± .30	-4.4	.79	136.0 ± .70 31	5.81 ± .39	-7.5	1.29
U. (horiz. cingum).	514	535.6 ± .133 81	17.7 ± .93	-21.6	1.22	538.3 ± .109 73	15.80 ± .76	-14.3	1.04	532.0 ± .93 73	11.79 ± .46	-18.0	1.53
100 $\frac{B}{F}$ (ceph. ind. using length from ophyon).	82.4	82.0 ± .22 89	3.14 ± .16	+0.4	.13	{75.8 ± .23} 86	3.17 ± .16	+6.6	2.08 (1 chance in 50)	76.9 ± .20 112	3.12 ± .14	+7.5	2.41 (1 chance in 125)
100 $\frac{NB}{NH}$ (nasal index).	46.3 ?	48.3 ± ? 16	—	-2.0 ?	—	{46.8 ± .40} 67	4.82 ± .29	+0.5 ?	.10 ?	47.5 ± .35 58	3.95 ± .27	-1.2 ?	.30 ?

\* Calculated from means of component lengths.

FIG. 3. COMPARISON OF THE SKULL FROM EASTON DOWN, WILTSHIRE, WITH SKULLS OF BRONZE AGE, LA TÈNE AND ROMANO-BRITISH, AND SAXON PERIODS.

*Race*.—Visual appreciation at once suggests the Early Bronze Age as the most likely period for this skull. An earlier period can be excluded as definitely by the shape of this skull as by the form of the barrow in which it was interred. But is it possible to exclude as definitely the post-Beaker periods? It is not: not only did subsequent invaders fail to contribute any equally startling new fashions in head-shape to the experience of this island, but Beaker-descendants doubtless survived to mix with the new comers, and make their contribution to the common stock. Thanks, however, to the statistical data assembled by Dr. G. M. Morant in his 'First Study of the Craniology of England and Scotland,'<sup>7</sup> we can compare a number of the characters of the skull before us, with those of series of crania from the successive periods in which round barrows were built; and in the case of a few of the major measurements, for which he has given us the standard deviations, we can estimate the chance of finding in any of these populations an individual deviation no less than that of the Easton Down specimen from the mean value for the group. Those measurements of our skull which cannot be thus compared are recorded below in a footnote<sup>8</sup>, and may be dismissed with the statement that none of them, assuming the appropriate standard deviations to be of the same order as those for four other London series (Whitechapel<sup>9</sup>, Moorfields<sup>9</sup>, Farringdon Street<sup>10</sup>, and Spitalfields<sup>11</sup>), would be exceptional in any of the groups in question. The six characters whose standard deviations are given us<sup>12</sup> for the various groups are compared in the (Fig. 3) table:—

The last column of each section compares the extent of Easton Down's deviation from the mean, with the standard deviation, in each character. Where it amounts to less than twice the S.D., we shall expect to find as great a deviation or greater, in the same direction, in one out of every forty-three of the population (assuming the means and S.D.'s of the series measured to correspond accurately with those of the population they represent). As regards the Bronze Age population, Easton Down is well within this limit for all the characters measured. Its greatest deviation from the mean value is only 1.22 times the S.D., and this would be matched or exceeded in every ninth person of the Bronze Age population. Thus in no point is it shown to be anything but absolutely normal to the Bronze Age, though a rather small specimen. When we come to the population of La Tène and Romano-British times, we find the deviation in one only of the six characters to be over our limit: in the cephalic index (with length measured from ophryon) it is 2.08 times the standard deviation, and would only be exceeded, if our data are reliable, by one in fifty of the population. This certainly makes a La Tène or Romano-British origin by no means impossible, though considerably less likely than a Bronze Age. When we come to consider Anglo-Saxon possibilities we find the chances substantially reduced. The '2.41' given against cephalic index tells us that as round-headed an individual as this would be expected in only 1/125th of the population; and as short an absolute head-length from ophryon would occur only once in about 233 of the population. These frequencies will not, of course, be taken as absolutely exact, since they are based on the assumption that the populations in question have exactly the same constants as the sample series measured. The 'probable errors' of these constants are, however, given in the table, and while making us sit loosely to the actual figures of the probabilities calculated, will yet not modify our general conclusions, namely, 'Early Bronze Age very probable; La Tène or Romano-British possible; Anglo-Saxon improbable.'

M. L. TILDESLEY.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Five Tribes of New Guinea, in some of their aspects. *Summary of a communication presented by Dr. R. F. Fortune: 20 February, 1934.*

**54** The problem was discussed whether anything general can be found, when culture is transmitted either most dominantly in males, or most dominantly in females. Suggestions were drawn from five tribes of the New Guinea littoral and mainland, studied by Dr. Fortune himself, and also from examples elsewhere. Typical matriliney is not an exact converse of patriliney, and

<sup>7</sup> *Biometrika*. XVIII (1926), pp. 56-98.

<sup>8</sup> L 183, B' 145.5, G'H 72, GB 94, NH' 54?, NHR 54, NHL 56, NB 25, J 137?: Notation as in *Biom*.

<sup>9</sup> *Biometrika*. V, p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 40.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 215.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 85.

follows a different principle. This difference was examined in detail, and it was shown that the difference in social organization, depending on the sex through which the bulk of social tradition and material estate was passed down, was an indication of the sex which undertook the carriage of the social tradition.

Since in every society the behaviour of the sexes is regulated by convention, nothing can be said of any fundamental character, in regard to any given society. The only trustworthy method is examining the conventions of the world for a common factor. The results will be published in full.

### Human Biology.

**The Form of Brain and Skull, with special reference to Endocranial Indices and Asymmetry.** 12  
January, 1934.

55

A discussion on the Form of Brain and Skull, with special reference to Endocranial Indices and Asymmetry, took place at the Royal Anthropological Institute on 12th January, 1934, and was opened by an interesting and able paper by Dr. K. Wagner, of Oslo.<sup>1</sup> Professor Elliot Smith was in the chair.

Dr. Wagner described a new instrument for measuring internal diameter of the skull. As compared with Weinert's callipers (designed for the same purpose) this new instrument had the advantage of enabling the investigator to see the points from which measurement was made. Furthermore, the measurements could be read off at once, while the Weinert callipers had first to be withdrawn from the skull and then re-adjusted as before. The improvements in the instrument resulted in a reduction of error by 38 per cent. The following internal measurements were taken and compared with the corresponding outer ones: (1) Maximum length of skull cavity, two sagittal measurements, right and left, about 10 cm. lateral to the median plane; (2) Maximum breadth of skull cavity; (3) Internal height from basion vertical to the Frankfurt horizontal. The material consisted of 369 skulls of Norwegians, Lapps, Maori, Australian natives and Eskimos. The following problems were discussed: (I) Asymmetry of the skull cavity; (II) Thickness of the skull wall; (III) The form of the brain as compared with the outer form of the skull.

The main results were: I (a) The mean length of the left hemisphere exceeds that of the right by about 1 mm., the difference between the means varying from .29 to nearly 2 mm. in the series measured. It was mentioned in this connection that Hoadley and Pearson dealing with Egyptian skulls had obtained contrary results; (b) The average breadth of the right hemisphere exceeds that of the left by about 1 to 3 mm. (It was stressed that when speaking of asymmetry of the brain in this connection it was meant only so far as was revealed through a study of the skull cavity.) The latter result could be corroborated by measuring the corresponding bilateral breadths from the median plane on horizontal skull contours. Skull contours published in 'Biometrika' since 1911 were also discussed. In the horizontal type contours

of 42 series, 32 were in accordance with the rule, and only 10 were exceptions. Most of the exceptions belonged to oriental series. The asymmetry of the caudal poles of the brain in connection with the main flow of the venous blood was dealt with at some length. The greater development of the left *fossa occipitalis superior* and the right transverse sinus, and a rather high correlation between the two characters, were mentioned. Thus a statistical proof was given to Elliot Smith's law concerning the two characters.

(II) As to the thickness of the skull wall it was pointed out that the Australians had the thickest skulls and the Lapps the thinnest. There was a marked difference in glabellar thickness between the different groups, the Australians showing the highest figures and the Lapps and Eskimos the lowest. Attention was drawn to the fact that the same massive Australian skulls were remarkably thin at euryon.

(III) Seeing that the length in all the groups was much more reduced than the breadth, and still more than the height, when using internal measurements, it was concluded that all the three main indices of the brain would probably give higher mean values than the corresponding outer ones. Compared with the skull the brain would, therefore, probably be relatively broader and, still more, relatively higher. This conclusion was confirmed by a direct survey of the indices. It was pointed out that there exists a rather strong negative (spurious) correlation between outer breadth-length index and thickness at glabella, and this negative correlation should permit one to predict that anthropological differences would be better expressed by the external than by the endocranial breadth-length index. The endocranial form of the great anthropoids and some of the best known prehistoric skulls was touched upon. The endocranial breadth-index of *Pithecanthropus*, *Neanderthal calotte*, *Spy I*, *Spy II*, *La Chapelle aux Saints*, *Rhodesia*, *Gibraltar*, *Ehringsdorf*, *Le Moustier* and *La Quina* were shown to lie well below the brachycephalic Lapps and not far away from the average of a modern mesocephalic group. Only *La Quina* was decidedly narrow. As to the endocranial form of the anthropoids it was noted that the oranges were excessively brachycephalic while the chimpanzees and still more the gorillas lay well within the human range of variation. It should be possible in the immediate future to get a large body of data concerning endocranial indices of anthropoid apes.

<sup>1</sup> The full results of Dr. Wagner's researches have been embodied in a longer paper which will be published elsewhere.



Professor Elliot Smith said that the most useful contribution he could make to the discussion would be to eliminate certain errors he had committed a quarter of a century ago. The asymmetry of the occipital poles of the cerebral hemispheres was in part due to a difference in size of the area striata exposed on the lateral surface. This was not due to a difference in the extent of the whole area striata. Subsequent measurements of the area striata in 20 brains (40 hemispheres) of people of various races showed the average extent of the area to be 3,000 square millimetres, ranging from 2,700 to 3,700, but however great the variation, the extent was always identical in the two hemispheres of the same brain. The prominence of the exposed part of the area on the left hemisphere allowed less room for the left than the right lateral sinus, but subsequent observations showed that this association was casual and in no sense a causal one.

The association of the normal asymmetry of the occipital poles with right-handedness was confirmed by observations of the ancient skeletons found in Nubia. The crania which he identified as right- or left-handed were associated with humeri which Professor Wood Jones reported as being longer on

the corresponding sides. (See his book 'The Evolution of Man,' p. 176, and his contribution to the 'Mott Memorial Volume'.)

Continuing the discussion, Dr. G. M. Morant said that he thought Dr. Wagner's new callipers for measuring internal diameters of the skull were a great improvement on the Weinert callipers. He said that no general statement to the effect that either hemisphere was, on the average, the longer for man could now be accepted, since it had been shown for one series of skulls that the right hemisphere was significantly longer than the left, and for some other series that the left was significantly greater than the right. The dominance in length of either hemisphere over the other appeared to be different for different races. It was contended that no knowledge of the breadths of the two hemispheres of the brain could be obtained from cranial measurements, since the 'median' plane of the brain was not known to correspond exactly with any arbitrarily chosen plane of the cranium.

Professor Le Gros Clark then contributed the result of certain independent researches on the same subject: his contribution is published as a separate paper. (MAN, 1934, 50.) M. L. T.

## REVIEWS.

### SOUTH AMERICA.

**Indiana, I. Leben, Glaube und Sprache der Quiché von Guatemala.** By Leonhard Schultze Jena. Jena: Gustav Fischer, publisher, 1933. 394 pp. and 24 plates.

About two hundred years ago the *Popol Vuh*, that famous literary monument of Central American culture, was found in Chichicastenango (Guatemala), the central spot of the community of Santo Toma's Chichicastenango embracing 64 'caseros' or 'cantóns,' i.e., groups of single farmhouses. Here is one of the centres of the living Quiché Indians belonging to the Maya family, who still speak their old language. The number of inhabitants, mostly Indians, is estimated at about 30,000 (census in 1920: 25,137 souls). Prof. Leonhard Schultze, Jena, well known for his anthropological and linguistic researches in other countries, spent about 17 months in Central America from August, 1929, until March, 1931, restricting himself to exact and concentrated studies in Chichicastenango and Momostenango. The present volume contains a part only of his results, but represents one of the most important contributions to American ethnology, linguistics and archaeology. The author started with the intention of collecting linguistic material so as to be able to read the *Popol Vuh*. Working along ethnological lines he obtained valuable information on the social and religious life and concepts of the living Quiché Indians, thus confirming and completing previous knowledge of the social and psychological organization of the ancient Quiché tribe. Consequently, this book has already met with careful consideration from Americanists. Prof. Karl Sapper's review of the book, published in the periodical *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv*, 1933 (edited by the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, Berlin), compares Prof. Schultze Jena's material with Prof. Sapper's researches on the Kekchi Indians.

After having learned the Quiché language and gained the confidence of the natives, the author obtained particulars of family and tribal life and of religions and superstitious concepts. He records the full text of

prayers to the earth-god for pregnant women, of prayers accompanying the sacrifice after childbirth, of conversations and ceremonial speeches at the initiation of a child into the village community, soothsayer's prayers and magic formulas for various events.

This detailed material is now published in Part III of the volume (pp. 69-281), arranged according to the natural succession of human life stages.

The Quiché texts are given on one page, with the German translation on the opposite page. Linguistic particulars of the original texts appear in Part IV, and the Quiché-German dictionary in Part IV (B), pp. 282-391.

The two first parts of the book are based partly on the author's personal observations and partly on the above-mentioned texts. Part I gives a systematic outline of the social life, family, community and brotherhood; Part II of religion and magic. The Quiché Indians, who are nominally Christians, are in reality pure pagans.

Together, with the moon, they pray to the stars, which are in total considered as a separate deity, although there exists no separate prayer (p. 24). Other stars, especially the sun, are not venerated now. The significance of the sun as 'Ka Káu' = 'our grandfather,' not in the sense of a mythical ancestor, but merely in that of an honorary title, might perhaps postulate a former sun-god (p. 24). The conception concerning the souls of the deceased reminds one of the belief of the Aztecs that the heart of the burning body of Quetzalcoatl remains, though changed into the morning star. The Quiché accepted the Spanish word *ánima* = soul as *nimá*, but the Christian conception of an immortal soul was incomprehensible to them. Thus they confused this term with their original conception of the heart being regenerated, after the dead, as an insect. Consequently the souls of ancestors are imagined as invisible swarms of flies (p. 18). On the other hand, the ancestors are identified with the 'Lords of Heaven and of the mountains,' but it remains somewhat doubtful whether

or not the latter identification concerns the imaginary residence of the deceased (p. 19). As to the bones, these are compared with the seed-kernels of a fruit, being considered as the seat of latent vital power.

The god of the mountain is the Lord of wild animals. To kill an animal wantonly is consequently regarded as a crime against this deity.

The most striking institution of the Quiché is called *alëk*, translated by Prof. Schultze Jena as "a union of fates." The life of man in all its stages is imagined to be closely connected with the life of an animal. The author emphasizes (p. 16) that the animal is not considered as a guardian spirit because the imaginary intimate relation is in no way subject to human influence. It is, however, to some extent obscure whether the relation is imagined as existing between a man and a species of animals as a whole or only a single animal. This question is of great importance for the investigation of a relationship with the North American *manitou*. The deficiency of a belief in a supernatural protection granted by the animal in question might more easily lead to a comparison with the *totem*, except that the human partner in an *alëk* relation is a single individual. But this discrepancy seems to be of importance for a new discussion on the American theory concerning the relation between a *manitou* (or individual *totem*) and a *totem* in the proper sense of the word (F. Boas, Alice Fletcher, Hill-Tout; see also my paper 'Totem und Individualtotem' in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, vol. XXXIV, 1916). There are many interesting particulars in this book which it is impossible to deal with here, e.g., the chapters on the *soothsayer* (p. 28 seq.), and the author's detailed explanation of the *Indian calendar*, leading to a highly interesting comparison with the ancient Tonalamatl-Tzolkin.

Some facts are of interest for ethnological jurisprudence, e.g., the institution of an artificial relationship between two married couples (p. 4 seq.).

The 24 plates give views of the country, the places of sacrifices, the stone idols and portraits of male and female Quiché Indians.

The learned author, as well as the publisher, must be congratulated on this excellent contribution to both American ethnology and linguistics. LEONHARD ADAM.

#### PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

**Paléopathologie et Pathologie Comparative.** By Dr. Leon Pales. Paris: Masson & Cie, 1930. 11 x 7½. 352 pp., 63 plates. Price 120 fr. 57

The study of fossil pathology offers many problems of interest to the anthropologist. Apart from the philosophical implications of the evidence of pathogenic micro-organisms in remote geological epochs of secondary times, it provides valuable clues to the conditions of life of early Man in a variety of ways.

Dr. Pales has compiled the existing knowledge of palaeopathology in an excellent memoir of 350 pages, well illustrated by 63 photographic plates, and has enhanced the value of his work by incorporating the results of his own personal study of many of the specimens which he describes. The antiquity of disease is illustrated by the frequency with which fractures and wounds in fossil animals are accompanied by infection, and by the common occurrence of osteoarthritis (which Baudouin has called the 'oldest malady in the world') in cave mammals of the pleistocene period and even in jurassic dinosaurs. Specific bone diseases which are often regarded as a concomitant of civilization may also have a much more distant origin than is commonly believed if the evidence for osteomalacia in the eocene *Limnocyon* and osteosarcoma in the Cave Bear from the Grotte du Dragon can be entirely accepted. The author

points out the difficulties in the way of making a certain diagnosis of these bony conditions, however, and he emphasizes this particularly in dealing with the history of syphilis. He might with advantage have given some examples showing how it is possible for post-mortem changes in bones—due to the ravages of small animals or plants—to simulate pathological conditions in the eyes of the inexperienced or careless observer.

As far as the pathology of mammals is concerned, the advent of Man is signalled by an increasing number of wounds in the skull and face, and the author cites some eloquent examples of flint points impacted in the vertebrae of deer. Man himself suffered in palaeolithic and neolithic times from osteoarthritis, though not so frequently as is generally supposed. Apart from this disease, however, and the possibility of Paget's disease as illustrated in a neolithic femur, our prehistoric fore-runners of the Stone Age only enter the realm of pathology in the category of wounds and fractures. Rickets was unknown to them, although Virchow protested that this disease sufficed to explain the unusual morphological features of the original Neanderthal cranium. Incidentally, we may note that pathology has more than once been invoked by the sceptic who wishes to deny the real significance of fossil human remains. Quite recently, for instance, it has been suggested that the Piltdown cranial fragments belong to a man of modern type who happened to be suffering from osteitis deformans.

Perhaps the most interesting chapters in this book are those devoted to prehistoric syphilis and tuberculosis. Here the author shows a most admirable restraint. He demonstrates rightly that since syphilitic bone changes are so rarely susceptible to a certain diagnosis, many of the alleged cases of prehistoric syphilis rest entirely on conjecture. He admits, indeed, that his discussion of the problem of the origin of syphilis does little more than put an end to certain popular misconceptions, and he wonders whether it will ever be capable of solution. The earliest evidence of bony tuberculosis in Man is provided by some vertebral lesions in skeletons of Neolithic and Bronze Age, which suggest tuberculous caries of the spine. In ancient Egypt, several cases of undoubted tuberculosis have been reported by Elliot Smith, Ruffer, Wood Jones and Derry. On the other hand, the pathological evidence suggests that tuberculosis was unknown in pre-Columbian America.

This book demands the attention of anthropologists who require to be acquainted with the more intimate conditions of life of prehistoric man, for, as the author states, "si leurs silex et leur art disent l'histoire de leurs luttes, de leurs travaux, de leurs pensées, leurs ossements évoquent celle de leurs douleurs."

W. LE GROS CLARK.

**Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit.** Egon Freiherr von Eickstedt. Parts 1, 2, and 3. Stuttgart, 1933. 10½ x 7. Pp. 432 (as far as received). 58

Three parts of this work have so far been received, which makes the task of a reviewer difficult. It is only possible to give a general impression. It is, however, perfectly clear that when this work is completed it will be of great importance to all students of anthropology. The title gives an accurate idea of the contents although the information *Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen, Tafeln und Karten* is a modest description of a book which is lavishly illustrated with a series of photographs both admirably chosen and beautifully reproduced and frequently of high artistic merit.

The general scheme of the work is a brief, but comprehensive survey of the methods of physical anthropology with reference to racial distinctions followed by

an account of the living races of mankind and their distribution and racial history. This latter part, which forms the bulk of the book, goes into great detail, especially as far as distribution and morphological description is concerned. Cephalic indices, nasal indices, stature and skin colour are given wherever they are available for both sexes, and the number of persons on which the observations were taken is included. The general cultural background is also discussed. The fundamental basis of classification is colour, mankind being divided into Europide (White race), Negride (Black race), and Mongolide (Yellow race). In addition to the 'Hauptasse' given above, each of the three divisions also include a 'Nebenform,' Polynesian, Melanesian, and Eskimide, respectively, a 'Sonderform,' Weddide, Pygmide and Indianide, and an 'Altform,' 'Ainuide,' 'Australide,' and 'Khoisanide.' This classification will no doubt not be acceptable to all anthropologists, it has the merit of emphasizing the relationship between the Australian Aborigines and the Melanesians, a relationship which is obscured by using hair form—the present most admitted and probably most admissible basis—but the disadvantage of grouping the Bushmen with the Mongoloid peoples. It will be interesting to see how far the map admirably reproduced opposite p. 129 will receive acceptance.

It will be seen from what has been written above, that the work is a very detailed and comprehensive survey of mankind as judged by his superficial characters. It is extremely well documented, by references given in footnotes. The wide and philosophical attitude of the author should make the work of great value not only to students of definitely anthropological problems, but also to those whose studies such as geography lead them into the fringes of anthropology. The style is simple and the method of arrangement is clear, so that even those students who find reading German a bit of a trial should be able to profit by a study of the book.

It is hardly possible or desirable to discuss details, but the map of the races of modern Europe opposite p. 400 is extremely provocative as far as this country is concerned. We find that though most is given as Nordic, the West country is Mediterranean, and so is all Wales and the West Coast of Scotland, from the Solway to the Island of Lewis, while there is a large patch of Mediterranean in the southern Midlands. This latter patch is based on the well-known work by Parsons and Bradbrooke (J.R.A.I. LII), and is surely hardly a fair interpretation of their statement that the present inhabitants of the North Chiltern area, who are not recent immigrants, are darker-haired than those surrounding them, and the definite statement "the facts " at our disposal make us think that this darkness is " due to the survival of a greater proportion of Neo-lithic or Mediterranean blood in the district." Such a guarded statement, not including recent immigrants who are numerous to-day, is very different from calling the area Mediterranean. Of course, any general work must necessarily generalize, but in the present state of our anthropological knowledge perhaps rather more caution and reservation than the author always shows might have been indicated. It must, however, be understood that these matters of detail do not detract from a most valuable and careful survey of our present knowledge of the distribution of the races of man. L. H. D. B.

#### AFRICA.

**Caravans of the Old Sahara : An Introduction to the History of the Western Sudan.** By E. W. Bovill. Oxford University Press, 1933.

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It is sometimes forgotten that not only the Nile Valley, but the whole of the northern half of the con-

tinent of Africa, had a long history of associations direct and indirect with the civilizations of the East: with Carthage, with Rome and Byzantium, and later with the same races who from the eighth to the fifteenth century were the most civilized nation of Europe—the Moors of Spain. Mr. Bovill's work is a concise, readable, and well-documented survey of some of these associations, and their major historical results in the Western Sahara and Sudan. "The purpose of this volume," he states in his Preface, "is to outline briefly the growth " of these associations and to win a measure of recognition for the part which the Western Sudanese have " played in the history of civilization."

Accordingly, after four introductory chapters on 'The Sahara,' 'Roman Africa,' 'Saharan Ethnography,' and 'Medieval Arabic Writers,' the author deals in detail with the political units which resulted from various waves of civilizing Islamic influences in the Sahara and Sudan—influences which have made the northern half of Africa what it is to-day; influences which have, in fact, permanently oriented its culture and outlook towards the north and east, and made it practically oblivious of the peoples and parts of Africa which lie to the south. It was the 'Golden Trade' which first attracted the attention of medieval Europe to Africa. The trade even in the tenth century was almost entirely financed and conducted by Jewish and Levantine merchants of North Africa, with the result that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Jewish cartographers of Majorca knew much more of Africa than their contemporaries. Mr. Bovill, in the third part of his work, traces the development of the golden trade and the conditions under which it grew up, as illustrated by the narratives of such personages as Malfante, d'Isaiguier, and others; and the history of the Moorish occupation of the Sudan in the sixteenth century. The concluding portion of the book deals with the modern exploration of the Sudan and Sahara from the last decade of the eighteenth century, when "the ignorance of " Europe regarding the interior of Northern Africa was " still profound."

Concerning the third and fourth parts of the work little need be said except that they are a well-presented study of ascertained historical facts viewed in a perspective which is clear and refreshing. Speaking generally, the truly autochthonous cultures of Northern Africa and the races of man who represented them have for long ages been engulfed by the successive penetrations of Northern Africa by way of the Horn of Africa, the Nile Valley, and North Africa, so that the cultural ideas of to-day are mostly the cultural ideas of the ancient or medieval civilized world in an attenuated or distorted form.

The two earlier portions of the book are a sober and careful analysis of the preponderance of modern opinion about the interior of the Africa of Roman and medieval times—and 'theory' is generally carefully labelled as theory, where evidence is incomplete or of doubtful interpretation.

For instance, the expedition, about A.D. 100, of Julius Maternus from Garama in Fezzan to Agisymba is mentioned on page 19, and various conjectures concerning the location of Agisymba, with its mountains, Bardetus and Mesche, are recorded—conjectures which are, however, not very convincing when it is recalled that the city of Aksum did exist in A.D. 100, that its peoples would or might well have been called Aksum-ba, in the Sudan, and that Bardetus and Mesche are not unlike the people-names Bardoa and Imoshagh.

Chapter III on 'Races of Man' seems rather to suffer from compression, and some of its ethnological premises are perhaps open to doubt—as, for instance, that the

Arabs derived the name Barbar from the Latin *barbari*, or the assumption underlying an expression such as "Mandingo tribes of Soninke and Wangara." It would seem more probable that the name Barbar came from Asia, and that the names Wangara and Son are pre-Mandinka, -inke being merely a Mandinka people termination. Wa-n-gara was a name of Saharan peoples in a language of Hausa affinity, while San = Mari = Melle denoted a 'caste of nobles,' not any particular tribes.

The book is illustrated by thirteen excellent maps, which add considerably to its value, and it may be warmly commended to all students of Africa and its peoples.

H. R. PALMER.

**The Grammar of Tiv.** By Captain R. C. Abraham, B.A., Nigerian Political Service. Kaduna: Government Printer, 1933. 10 x 7. 213 pp.

Tiv is the language of the people commonly called Munshi, "a large and powerful pagan tribe inhabiting the south bank of the Benue River, between the Katsina Ala River on the east and the Nigerian Eastern Railway on the west." Captain Abraham is publishing simultaneously with the work before us a volume entitled *'The Tiv People'*, which will form an indispensable supplement to it, also amplifying the information conveyed in Mr. Duggan's article just quoted from.

Tiv, under the designation 'Munshi or Tivi' is included in Johnston's 'Semi-Bantu Languages' (Westermann's 'Klassensprachen'). Its existence was discovered long ago by Koelle, who seems to have met with freed slaves of the tribe at Sierra Leone.

There is a distinct system of noun-classes, some of which form the plural by means of a prefix, others by a change of tone. Tones, as in all West African languages, are a conspicuous feature, and Captain Abraham has done an important piece of work in examining their grammatical functions—a subject to which, I believe, Professor Daniel Jones was the first to call attention.

The account of the noun-classes is somewhat perplexing. The impression gained in a cursory examination, which is all I have found possible, is that we have here the ruins of the Bantu system in a hopeless state of confusion. That each class should have its own pronoun seems to be a relic of the concord. The position of the genitive is perplexing—sometimes the object possessed comes first, as in Bantu, sometimes the possessor; the particles equivalent to 'of' seem to have some relation to the noun-classes, but the examples illustrating the construction are not easy to understand without an intensive study of the language.

The numerals from 1 to 5 have certain resemblances to Bantu and occasional words are distinctly recognizable: *inyon* 'bird', *iji* 'egg' (the verb 'to lay' is *ta*, as in archaic Swahili), *wuwa* 'kill' (Swahili *ua*, Zulu *bula* (la)), *uma* 'dry up' (as in Nyanja). *Iyange* 'sun' suggests the stem—*anga* 'shine'—from which comes the Zulu *ilanga*.

The author evidently has a sound knowledge of phonetics, but has been hampered by typographical difficulties in his rendering of Tiv sounds, as pointed out in his Introduction. The rule about the velar nasal might have been more clearly expressed, and when Captain Abraham says that he hears the ejective sound commonly written *kp* as *kb*, is he quite certain that it is not *gb*—in other words, that the velar is not voiced?

All philologists should welcome this most careful study, and anthropologists will look forward with interest to the companion volume.

A. W.

## MEDITERRANEAN.

**Homér and Mycénæ.** By Martin P. Nilsson. London: Methuen, 1933. xii + 283 pp., 56 illustrations and maps.

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This book, as one might expect from its author, is one of the most reasonable and learned works on the thorny 'Homeric Question' that have yet appeared, and is a very valuable contribution to the good series (Methuen's Handbooks of Archaeology) in which it appears. If this were a classical periodical an analysis of the author's views regarding the composition of the epics would be in place; as it is, it suffices to say that he supposes the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' to be by different authors, the latter poem being somewhat later in date. He is of those who credit the 'Iliad,' or at least the greater part of it, to one supreme poet, using much traditional material, but not merely incorporating it after the mechanical fashion postulated by the older separatists. The date of the poems as we have them he would put somewhere about the eighth century B.C., judging by the archaeological evidence; but not a little has come down from a much earlier period, that of Mycenaean civilization on the mainland of Greece. The reviewer, for reasons which cannot be gone into here, dissents from several points of this theory, and especially would put the epics (apart from certain interpolations) a century or so earlier than Professor Nilsson does. But that the methods employed in the book are sound and the results almost everywhere plausible and often as nearly certain as can be expected in such a field seems beyond reasonable denial.

From the anthropological point of view, the main interest is rather in the Homeric civilization and the use to be made of the Homeric tales than in the poems themselves. Some salient points are the following.

After an introductory chapter which reviews the theories that have been put forward by philologists, archaeologists and literary critics since the famous question began to be agitated, he sketches the history of the Mycenaean Age (Chap. II). He rightly insists that this question cannot be shirked by any who try to understand the genesis of the poems; obviously it is still less possible for an anthropologist or a prehistorian to avoid it. He holds to his view that the Mycenaeans were Greeks, though, of course, much mixed with the pre-Greek population (what little somatological evidence there is, is well used, p. 84 seq.). The details of their arrival in Greece, which are given at some length with the evidence for them, are substantially the same as those put forward in his earlier works, to which frequent reference is made, especially his 'Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology.' The great age of Mycenæ was one of warlike enterprise, comparable to the Viking epoch and ending when the Mycenaeans were exhausted. In that age epic began. The next two chapters set forth the archaeological and linguistic evidence which he takes to show that Homer blends together elements from Mycenaean, sub-Mycenaean and archaic times for his picture of a civilization not identical with any one period, and that his language is equally composite. A number of telling criticisms of earlier authors are here put forward; indeed, the negative part of the book is by no means the worst.

The section (Chap. V) dealing with the history of epic in general is excellent, since it collects evidence from all over the world, not merely from mediæval Europe, of how such poems come into being, and especially of the manner in which they are modified and of their relations to writing, where that art is known. Perhaps best of all is Chap. VII, which distinguishes with highly commend-

<sup>1</sup> E. de C. Duggan in 'Journal of the African Society,' July, 1932.



able clearness between the traditional elements of saga, from which alone historical material is to be gleaned, and the very large contributions due to nothing but the poet's own genius and invention. The intervening Chapter (VI: State Organization in Homer and the Mycenaean Age) covers somewhat more familiar ground.

The reviewer has noted a number of small points of disagreement and doubt, but as they mostly fall within the scope of classical rather than anthropological study, they are omitted here. In conclusion, it must be stressed that the book is of great value for all interested in the early history of European civilization, from whatever angle they may approach it, and also pleasant reading and couched in a style which shows remarkably little sign that the author is not using his native language.

H. J. ROSE.

**Indo-European Folk-Tales and Greek Legend.** By W. R. Halliday. Cambridge: University Press, 1933. ii + 158 pp.

**62** Principal Halliday possesses to an unusual degree the art of setting forth sound views in an amusing manner, and this book is characteristic of him. It is developed out of his Gray Lectures of 1932, and aims at explaining briefly the best methods of understanding and analysing popular tales, with illustrations taken from outstanding problems of Greek tradition. This is accomplished in seven short chapters, whereof the first merely goes over the familiar ground of the distinctions between myth, legend and *märchen*. After this comes a discussion of 'Indo-European Folk-Tales and the problem of their distribution.' He is not committed to any one theory, whether distributionist or polygenetic, but produces, from his wide reading, curious and interesting illustrations of the way in which stories are actually transmitted and also the manner in which new ones are originated, so far as such a thing ever does take place in times of which we know anything. Needless to say, he is not a victim of the illusion that any such tales have no author. Chapter III applies his principles to certain Greek legends, with reference to their real or supposed relations to Indian stories. Chapter IV treats of the analysis of such tales, and is full of good sense both in its handling of the use and abuse of philology as applied to proper names and its recognition of the large part played by conscious literary reshaping of old material. The book concludes with three studies of particular problems, the legend of Prokne and Philomela in its many variants, the saga of Perseus and the fable of the Goat and the Vine.

For those who wish to learn easily and quickly some of the most noteworthy peculiarities of Greek mythology, and for any who can enjoy a good study of folklore, this is a book to be prized.

H. J. ROSE.

**The Ceremonial Dances of the Sinhalese, and other Articles.** By O. Pertold.

**63** Ceylon is a Cinderella. Archaeologically it is overshadowed by India. Scholars find a meagre and older literature in Sanskrit texts. For anthropologists the Sinhalese have the misfortune of being Buddhists, and therefore of not being 'primitive.' The only people they will look at in Ceylon are the Vāddas. Oh! those Vāddas! You might think Prof. and Mrs. Seligman's detailed study would have wound up their account once for all; but no, books are still written on the Vāddas, and expeditions arranged to them, while the Sinhalese from whom the Vāddas derive most of their culture are neglected. We must all the more welcome Dr. O. Pertold's inquiries into the customs of the Sinhalese, inquiries of which he has published some of the

results in *Archiv Orientalni*, vol. I and II. Dr. Pertold's work is welcome for another reason: it is a rare phenomenon in that it combines scholarship with an interest in living customs. Dr. Pertold is a scholar; he knows whether he understands or not, knows exactly what value to give to each word. He is not only a Sinhalese scholar, but a Sanskrit and Pali one, a rare but indispensable combination in cultural studies. In India the old and the modern are kept too much in watertight compartments. Perhaps the scholar outweighs too much the field worker in Dr. Pertold. He makes great use of texts, of masks, and of the evidence of his own eyes, but he does not seem to have cross-examined Sinhalese witnesses. A short cross-examination will often bring to light in a few minutes what poring over texts may fail to settle in the course of years. Texts are written generally as *aides-memoires*, and not in order to state fundamentals, a knowledge of which is assumed. To get the fundamentals there is no other way than by cross-examination. Dr. Pertold's conclusions therefore omit what we have most at heart and that is the ideas of intelligent ordinary Sinhalese about masks. The opinions of Punci Banda or Kirihami would be of more value than much of that exegesis and textual criticism which the author carries out with such thoroughness and sense of evidence. Let us hope that in future papers Dr. Pertold will apply these same virtues to an oral examination of witnesses, for we trust these papers will not be the last. We should advise him, however, to have his English revised, as the foreign constructions add considerably to the difficulties of reading inherent in such a detailed criticism of evidence.

A. M. HOCART.

**Jochelson, Waldemar, 1933: History, Ethnology and Anthropology of the Aleut.** Carnegie Publication No. 432, Washington, D.C. 91 pp., 27 figures.

**64** The author spent the years 1909 and 1910 on the Aleutian Islands, and made excavations, the results of which were published in 1925 by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The present volume contains the anthropological results. The first two chapters deal mainly with the early history of the islands, from the time of their discovery in 1741. Another chapter deals with the seal and other fisheries, bird hunting, and the skin boats. Much information is included regarding the arctic foxes, sea otters, and other animals. The grass work of the Aleut women is described, and the food and games of the people. Much attention is given to the language and the system of relationships of the Aleut people. Short chapters follow on their mythology and physical types.

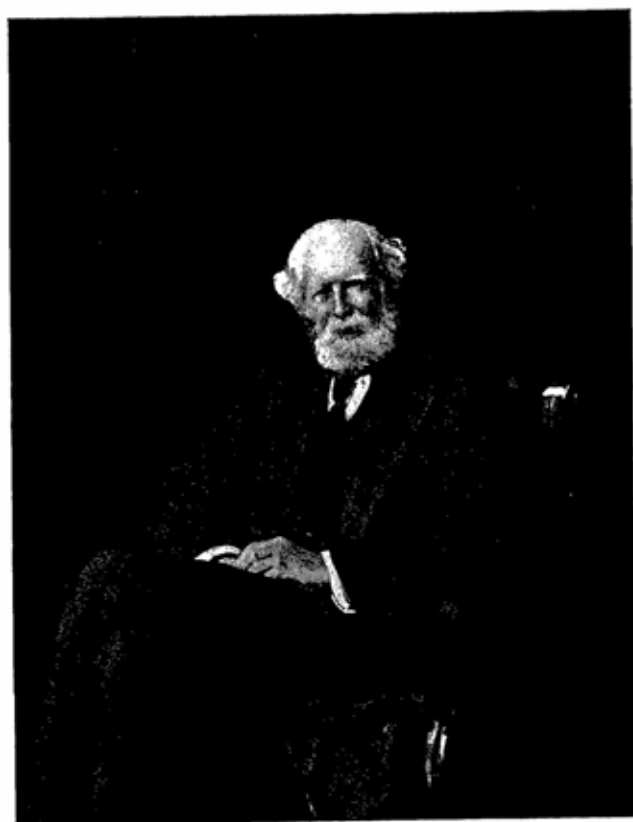
From excavated skulls belonging to the pre-Russian period the author concludes that the Aleut were not a pure race. Their skulls, like those of modern Aleuts, had a high cephalic index of about 84. Some of the latter are Mongoloid in eye characters, skin colour, and in having broad faces. The nearest Indian tribes are the Tlingit and Tsimshian with a cephalic index not exceeding 82, while the Alaskan and Siberian Eskimo and the Koryak and Kamchadal are more mesocephalic.

Hrdlička suggests that the Aleuts were derived from an Eskimo stock which migrated southwards and became mixed with Athapascans, some of whom have a cephalic index of 84. The presence of true Mongolian blood could be determined by testing the blood groups, and it is to be hoped that these will be taken before crossing obscures the results. A considerable bibliography of works bearing on this region completes the volume.

R. R. G.







LORD AVEBURY.

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate D.

**Centenary of the Birth of Lord Avebury.** *By Sir Arthur Keith, F.R.S.*

The centenary of the birth of John Lubbock, who became the first Lord Avebury, falls on 30th April, 1934. He was the eldest son of Sir John Lubbock, Bt., F.R.S., banker, mathematician and astronomer, and was born at High Elms, in the parish of Downe, Kent.

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When John Lubbock was eight years of age, it happened that Charles Darwin came to live in the same small parish. The result was that, under Darwin's influence, Lubbock became imbued with the evolutionary outlook, and was the first to apply with complete conviction the doctrine of evolution to anthropological problems. His earliest investigations were zoological, and for these he was elected to the Royal Society in 1858, being then only twenty-four years of age. He died at Kingsgate Castle, Kent, on 28th May, 1913, in his eightieth year, leaving a record of service to learning and to literature which has never been equalled in modern times. He was banker, statesman, social reformer, economist, sociologist, antiquarian, folk-lorist, anthropologist, geologist, psychologist, educationist, zoologist, entomologist, botanist, statistician, numismatist and naturalist.<sup>1</sup> In every one of these rôles he rendered services of value; those which he gave to anthropology are of outstanding importance. When elevated to the peerage in 1900, he took his title from the most remarkable stone circle in England.

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Lord Avebury's contributions to Anthropology and all branches of knowledge, see 'The Life-Work of Lord Avebury' (Sir John Lubbock) edited by his daughter, the Hon. Mrs. Adrian Grant Duff. (London: Watts & Co. 1924. Price 5s. Centenary Edition 2s. 6d.)

Mrs. Grant Duff contributes an account of her father, and gives selections from his writings. Lord Avebury's work is discussed by Sir Bernard Mallet (Politics and Economics); Sir Arthur Keith (Anthropology); Sir Arthur Smith Woodward (Geology); Sir Arthur Thomson (Zoology); Mr. H. St. J. K. Donisthorpe (Entomology); Dr. A. C. Seward (Botany); Sir Michael E. Sadler (Education and Letters).



SIR JOHN LUBBOCK.

On two occasions Lord Avebury came to the rescue of anthropology in England. The first of these was in 1863, when the Ethnological Society was threatened. Some of the younger members had broken away and set up a rival society—the Anthropological. Certain members of the older society bestirred themselves, particularly those who had accepted the teaching of Darwin (Henry Christy, Sir John Evans, George Busk, Clements Markham and Russel Wallace), and induced Lord Avebury (Mr. John Lubbock, F.R.S., as he then was) and Huxley to come to the help of the Ethnological. Lord Avebury joined on 13th January, 1863, and in the following May, being then twenty-nine years of age, was elected President. Francis Galton, who was twelve years his senior, took on the secretaryship of the society, and during the two years in which Lord Avebury and he held office much good work was done.

The second occasion on which Lord Avebury rendered a signal service was in 1871. With a view to bringing the rival societies together, Huxley took over the presidentship of the Ethnological in 1868, and held the office for two years. The dissenters agreed to rejoin, but refused to accept Huxley as the first president of the united societies. It was not until January, 1871, that, by mutual consent, it was agreed to ask Sir John Lubbock (he had succeeded to the family baronetcy on the death of his father in 1865) to be the first president of the rival societies now amalgamated under its present title—the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. At first Lubbock protested; he was only too conscious of Huxley's prior and better claims to the honour. He yielded to the urgency of Huxley's request, and on 14th February, 1871, was elected president with acclamation. Huxley, Busk and Sir John Evans became vice-presidents. On the Council were Pitt-Rivers, McKenny Hughes and Boyd Dawkins.

Among Lord Avebury's many gifts the most remarkable was his power of reconciling men of perverse natures to agree to act together in order that a public benefit might be attained. Hence the many appeals to him by scientific societies and public bodies whose affairs were in difficulties. Hence, too, his success when, as a Member of Parliament, he had to persuade diverse interests to agree to the enactment of his many proposals. Some of these, such as the Ancient Monuments Act of 1882, with its amendment of 1901, have proved of great advantage to archaeologists as well as anthropologists. His first Parliamentary success was in 1871, when his Bank Holidays Bill became law. Bills to regulate Shop Hours (1886) and Early Closing (1904) were also framed and fathered by him. Altogether he introduced and passed thirty bills through Parliament.

As early as 1868, Lord Avebury's reputation stood high among the archaeologists and anthropologists of Europe. In this year, when the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology and Anthropology met in Norwich, he was chosen to preside over its affairs. It is worthy of note here that this Association was founded in 1864 by Gabriel de Mortillet, who soon afterwards propounded his scheme for the subdivision of the palæolithic epoch into a series of periods or cultures. Although it was Lord Avebury who proposed, in 1862, the subdivision of the stone period into *Neolithic* (the phase or period represented in Denmark) and *Palæolithic* (the phase or period older than that represented in Denmark), yet he was never reconciled to the scheme proposed by de Mortillet.

Lord Avebury began his career as anthropologist in 1860, when he visited the scene of the discoveries of Boucher des Perthes in the valley of the Somme. In the three following years he devoted his leisure to searching Europe for evidence to carry human history beyond the earliest written record. He visited the kitchen middens of Denmark, the lake dwellings of Switzerland and the caves of France. In 1865 he threw the evidence he had collected into the form of a book which appeared under the title of 'Prehistoric Times.' In 1913, the year of his death, he was engaged on the preparation of a seventh edition of this work. 'Prehistoric Times' deserved its success by reason of the clearness of its exposition and the novelty of its contents. He was the first to apply a knowledge of life among peoples now living in a primitive state to the interpretation of human life in prehistoric times. He was not content to appeal merely to the narrow and limited audience of experts, although he had much that was both new and important to tell them. He proved that it is possible to set forth a scientific problem in such a way that the public itself could form a sound opinion of its merits. It is just this rare ability which has misled a later generation into thinking that Lord Avebury was merely a popular expositor.

In 1870 appeared Lord Avebury's 'The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man.' This work was foreshadowed in the final chapters of 'Prehistoric Times.' In these chapters the author summed up his conclusions concerning the origin of man, and especially of the evolution of human civilization. In particular he emphasized the misery of savagedom and the blessings of civilization. Concerning these final chapters of 'Prehistoric Times,' Darwin wrote:

"I cannot resist telling you how excellently well in my opinion you have done the very interesting chapters on *Savage Life* . . . but I ought to keep the term *original* for your last chapter, which has struck me as an admirable and profound discussion. It has quite delighted me for now the public will see what kind of man you are, which I am proud to think I discovered a dozen years ago."

There were three men in England whose counsel Darwin relied on when engaged on the problems of evolution. These were Hooker, Huxley and Lubbock.

'Prehistoric Times' was easy to write compared to 'The Origin of Civilization.' In this work the author had to descend into the labyrinthine recesses of the mind of Savage Man and trace, step upon step, the manner in which modern beliefs, habits, customs and institutions of civilized peoples had come into being. Lord Avebury benefited, no doubt, by the previous labours of Sir Edward Tylor, of J. F. McLennan and of L. H. Morgan, but, taken as a whole, the gathering of the great mass of evidence set forth in 'The Origin of Civilization,' and the inferences founded on this evidence, must be regarded as an original and systematic attempt to mark out a new and important field of human knowledge.

The first edition of 'The Origin of Civilization' appeared in 1870; the sixth and last edition in 1902. 'Marriage, Totemism and Religion' (An Answer to Critics), which appeared in 1911—two years before Lord Avebury's death—may be regarded as a supplement to 'The Origin of Civilization.' When we seek to discover how it was that Lord Avebury came to be so successful in his interpretation of savage life, we find it in the fact that with him anthropological problems were viewed through the eyes of one who accepted the doctrine of evolution with the most complete conviction of it as a universal truth. He grew up in the faith of Darwin; his contemporaries were only Darwinians by adoption.

Lord Avebury's services to anthropology are too varied and numerous to be reviewed here in detail. There is one, however, that must not be omitted. In 1866, in the company of Sir John Evans, he visited the salt mines at Hallstatt and arranged for further excavations of the site. Thus it came about that he obtained a very fine collection of specimens from Hallstatt which adorned the walls of the hall at High Elms. This collection was presented to the British Museum by the second Lord Avebury.

The more we look into the history of Anthropology in England during the nineteenth century, the more do we realize our indebtedness to Lord Avebury. The mines of knowledge which he opened are far from exhausted.

ARTHUR KEITH.

#### Tasmania: Language.

Walker

Some Aboriginal Words of Tasmania, from a Manuscript. By Norman Walker.

Not long ago, when living in Tasmania, and while examining a copy of Vol. I of the *Tasmanian Journal* (published in 1842), I came across a list of Tasmanian native words. These were noted in manuscript, under the heading 'Dr. Fisher,' on the list printed in the *Journal*.

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The copy was one of the books of the Ancanthe Library, founded by Lady Franklin. The collection was partly burnt, and the surviving portion placed in cases in a cellar of the Hutchins School. At one time the cellar was flooded so that the cases stood in water. I was one of a commission appointed, some time after, to unpack the library and report on it. It is now housed at the Hutchins School, and it is pretty safe to say that the manuscript list, now given here, remains unknown.

Regarding the pronunciation of the native speech, a Tasmanian writer of 1832 declares:—"They (the natives) sound the letter R with a rough deep emphasis, particularly when excited by anger or otherwise, and upon these occasions also they use the word *werr, werr*, very vehemently." This confirms the statement in Crozet's *Voyage* that, "Their language seemed to us very hard and they



"seemed to draw their voices from the bottom of the throat." Robinson, who was responsible for persuading the surviving natives to surrender, said, "Most of their words they abbreviate, this rendered the language the more difficult."

One cannot but be struck by the extraordinary variation in tribal language. For instance, we are given the following words for 'ear' in different parts of the Island, viz.: *Pelverata*, *Lewlina*, *Towrick*, *Cowanrigga*, *Blatheraway*, *Cuegnilia*, *Vaigui* and *Ouagui*. After this one is not surprised to be told, in the number of the *Tasmanian Journal* quoted, that "Those who are not of the same tribe appear to converse in broken English." Indeed, the tribes, if the word is not too large a one to use, seem rigidly to have kept to their own territories. To trespass meant war, and it seems that tribal quarrels were largely, and perhaps chiefly, responsible for the thinning of the numbers of the Tasmanians before their remnant was brought into captivity. The present writer often followed the traces of the Oyster Bay and Big River Tribes. They were never friends, and it was their hunting grounds, along the East Coast and the Ouse respectively, that were in greatest demand by the white settlers.

It will be noticed that a few of the words following refer to objects known only after the coming of the Europeans. Also a reminder may be offered that the last Tasmanian, Trucanini, died in 1876.

A few words in the list were not copied by me, as they were not sufficiently legible for certainty. The middle letter in *reclingli* ('sheep') is perhaps not an *i*. The manuscript notes include a few words already in print. These are here placed in brackets.

NORMAN WALKER.

Bad - - -	<i>Coertugana</i>	Emu - - -	<i>Recla</i>	Redbill - -	<i>Tilana</i>
Bed - - -	<i>Menuma</i>	Evening - -	<i>Tuwanua</i>	Shadow - -	<i>Pleni, Blaney</i>
Boat - - -	<i>Maladua</i>	Eaglehawk -	<i>Cloti</i>	Sheep - - -	<i>Reclingli</i>
Bullocks - -	<i>Pacal</i>	Fish - - -	<i>Pla</i>	[ „ E. District	<i>Nemiwaddinana</i> ]
[ „ Western		Fowls - - -	<i>Uinaniwone</i>	[ „ W. District	<i>Rulemena</i> ]
District -	<i>Buckalow</i>	Get up - - -	<i>Jaku</i>	Ship - - -	<i>Taiaritta,</i>
[ „ Un-		Go to bed - -	<i>Rongu</i>		<i>Tuanga</i>
certain -	<i>Bacala</i>	Gull - - -	<i>Piè</i>	[ „ E. District	<i>Luiropony</i> ]
Cow - - -	<i>Mialu</i>	Hut - - -	<i>Ledna</i>	Sit you down -	<i>Uaple</i>
[ „ Western		Kangaroo (male)	<i>Lienna</i>	Sleep - - -	<i>Neve</i>
District -	<i>Cateena</i>	Lamb - - -	<i>Dieña</i>	Snake - - -	<i>Nea, Pawarra</i>
Crow - - -	<i>Rallia</i>	Limpet - - -	<i>Loulra</i>	Spear - - -	<i>Plaga</i>
Crystal - -	<i>Lodna</i>	Magpie - - -	<i>Carallo</i>	Swan - - -	<i>Nartuplata</i>
Day - - -	<i>Kawna</i>	Morning - - -	<i>Ra</i>	Sweep - - -	<i>Mamle</i>
Dog (native) -	<i>Paguamanattia</i>	Mutton bird -	<i>Maina</i>	To-morrow -	<i>Rato</i>
„ (English) -	<i>Kitta</i>	Parrot - - -	<i>Pilree</i>	To-night - -	<i>Borupare</i>
Duck - - -	<i>Nuwarra</i>	Pelican - - -	<i>Uapluna</i>	Waddy - - -	<i>Rolia</i>
Eagle - - -	<i>Trutiana</i>	Platypus - -	<i>Randla</i>	Was - - -	<i>Mokole</i>
		Porcupine - -	<i>Moila</i>		

### Australasia : Anthropology.

Wood-Jones.

Tasmanians and Australians. By Frederic Wood-Jones.

**67** It is now nearly a century since the remnant of the Tasmanian natives, settled on Flinders Island, petitioned Governor Franklin to sanction their removal to Port Philip, to which place George Augustus Robinson had been appointed as Protector of Aborigines. Upon the advice of the home authorities the removal was forbidden. Nevertheless, it is certain that at least sixteen Tasmanians arrived on the Australian mainland with Robinson and that some were indentured to residents in Victoria. In addition to this it is also certain that John Batman and other early Victorian settlers brought Tasmanian natives to the mainland. Coates, Ware, Hill and Newton are names of Victorian residents to whom such indentures of Tasmanian natives are recorded as having been made.

On the other hand, aborigines of Australia were not infrequently taken, or sent as convicts, from Sydney to Tasmania. Mosquito, who was hanged in Hobart in 1825, was himself a member of the Broken Bay tribe from the north of Sydney. Bulldog, one of his associates, was also an Australian native.

Upon the islands of the Bass Straits both Tasmanian and Australian women were kept by the sealers and straitsmen. It is, therefore, evident that not all skulls of aborigines found in Tasmania

are necessarily those of Tasmanians, nor all those from Victoria necessarily Australians. Still less is there any certainty attaching to skulls from the islands of the Straits. Moreover, it is highly probable that some mixture took place between the two races in the early years of last century, and William Lane himself is commonly said to have been an Australian-Tasmanian half-caste.

In view of the great and unmistakable racial differences constantly exhibited between the crania of undoubted Australians and Tasmanians, it is possible that some confusion may be caused now that skulls of the extinct race are so much sought after. During the last three years I have examined a skull from Tasmania that exhibits every feature distinctive of the Australian aborigine; and a skull from Victoria that seems unmistakably to be Tasmanian. Quite recently there has been submitted to me a female skeleton from one of the islands of the Straits concerning which there can be no doubts as to its distinctive Australian characters.

In all questions concerning the distinctions of the Tasmanian and Australian natives, this disturbance, produced by the white man in early Colonial days, must be borne in mind.

F. WOOD-JONES.

### Pennine Peats.

Godwin and Clark.

The Age of the Pennine Peats. *By H. Godwin.*

In 1926 Woodhead and Erdtman<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> published the results of pollen analysis of two series of peat samples from Warcock Hill near Marsden, Yorks., the site of important 68 archaeological discoveries made by Buckley. Here, as throughout the Pennines generally, mesolithic implements were discovered in the sand below the peat. In the basal few inches of the peat itself were discovered, however, implements then spoken of as 'neolithic.' These are now recognised as of Early Bronze Age type, a dating which accords with the discovery of actual bronze and accepted Early Bronze Age objects in the peat still within quite a short distance of the base, though above the 'neolithic' horizon.

If the general correlation of the Bronze Age with the Sub-Boreal climatic period of Blytt and Sernander be assumed to hold in this country as in continental N.W. Europe, then the Warcock Hill series give a valuable correlation point between forest history as shown by pollen analysis, and climatic and archaeological periods. The lowest Warcock Hill peats must, on this basis, be considered to be Sub-Boreal, in contrast to the early Atlantic age attributed to them by Woodhead and Erdtman, and more recently accepted by Raistrick.<sup>3</sup> The early Atlantic dating was arrived at by comparison with the remarkably complete peat series at Chat Moss, Lancs., and thence by general analogy of corresponding forest periods, with the climatic periods of the Continent. To the present writer the pollen analyses of the basal Warcock Hill peats do not, in themselves, offer any very clear evidence of dating, though possibly such evidence could be obtained by analysis of a very large series of samples closely set over neighbouring areas. The transition from the Boreal to the Atlantic period is strongly marked all over N.W. Europe; it has been accepted in this country, following Erdtman, as the horizon in which the pollen of the recently immigrated alder (*Alnus*) increases rapidly in amount as that of the pine (*Pinus*) diminishes, and it is marked also by the lowering of the very high maxima of hazel (*Corylus*) pollen. In the Boreal period itself the warmth-loving trees, oak (*Quercus*), lime (*Tilia*), and elm (*Ulmus*) immigrated, and during the Atlantic period they increased in relative abundance. Apart from this Boreal-Atlantic transition phase the forest periods of the British Islands are not very strongly marked and have not been very closely correlated either with archaeological or climatic periods within this country itself. The basal peats of the Warcock Hill series do not show the indices just mentioned for the Boreal-Atlantic transition period and therefore there seems no reason to doubt the validity of the archaeological evidence, which, as we have said, points to Sub-Boreal age.

This argument and conclusion may, we think, be fairly applied not only to the interpretation of the Warcock Hill peats by Woodhead and Erdtman, but also to the interpretation by Raistrick of analyses of peats at Truckle Pits, Barden Fell. It is true that the basal sample here seems to show rather higher percentages of pine than those above, but these percentages do not exceed 20 and need not necessarily be indicative of the Boreal pine maximum, especially in view of the very high alder values, and in view of evidence in various parts of the country for pine forests of post-Boreal age.

It might indeed be suggested that the continental correlation of the Bronze Age with the Sub-Boreal climatic period was incorrect, or at least did not apply to Britain, where it might on this Pennine evidence be placed in the early Atlantic. But such a suggestion would not only oppose a great weight of continental evidence; it is strongly contradicted by recent investigations within this country.<sup>4</sup> At Burnt Fen, Cambs., Early Bronze Age discoveries have been made within, but close to the base of the upper bed of peat. This peat bed overlies a thick bed of semi-marine silt and clay, which itself rests upon a thick lower peat bed. The silts and clay also fill a channel which has been cut right through the lower peat into the sand below. Pollen analysis of the lower peat bed shows good evidence for the Boreal-Atlantic transition occurring near the base. It follows from these observations that between the end of the Boreal period and the Early Bronze Age occupation there must have been at least in Cambridgeshire (a) a long period of peat formation; (b) a period of erosion (i.e., land-elevation), which caused the channel to be cut right through the lower peat; (c) a period of deposition of semi-marine clay and silt (i.e., land submergence), and (d) a period of renewed peat formation. This evidence certainly favours, at least in this part of England, a Sub-Boreal as against an Early Atlantic date for the Early Bronze Age period.

Pollen analysis of the base of the upper peat in the Cambridgeshire fens has shown close association of the Early Bronze Age with exceptionally high *Tilia* (lime) pollen percentages, though the percentages diminish rapidly above this horizon. It is interesting to note that in the two series from Warcock Hill it is the lowest samples which show the highest *Tilia* values, that from the north site being as much as 10 per cent. This occurrence of lime pollen at the base of the Warcock Hill profile and at the base of the upper fen peat of Cambridgeshire may be merely coincidence, and it may be due to other causes than contemporaneity and common climatic control, but, taken at face value, it agrees with the view that the basal peats on Warcock Hill are indeed of Sub-Boreal age.\*

So far, then, as the upland Pennine peats are concerned we must enter a *caveat* against Raistrick's conclusion that the pollen analyses "establish the pygmy flints (from the underlying sand) as "pre-Atlantic in age."

The lowland peats analyzed by Raistrick and Blackburn<sup>5</sup> appear to offer evidence less doubtful as regards pollen-analysis. Pygmy flint sites are described from the coast on a land surface below sand dunes, and Raistrick considers that the geological evidence points to the formation of the sand dunes as a primary cause of arrested drainage in certain basins of the coastal plain. In these basins, e.g., Newbiggin Carr, the lowest peats have been analysed and are ascribed by Raistrick and Blackburn to the Boreal-Atlantic transition period. In this case there seems every probability that the dating is correct, since the major features characteristic of this phase are all present, viz., initially low alder rising rapidly, and pine and hazel falling from high initial values. Here interpretation of the pollen-analytical data certainly suggests Boreal age for the pygmy flint sites, but it must be borne in mind that this assumes adequate geological evidence that the deposition of the dune barrier was indeed the cause of peat formation in the coastal basins, and that in fact not even the basal peats had formed there until the dune ridge was initiated. One would expect the latter type of fact to be essentially difficult to establish.

H. GODWIN.

#### The Age of the Pennine Peats. By J. G. D. Clark.

**69** Archaeologically two important facts<sup>6</sup> are known about the Pennine peat, first, that it covers the two distinct stages of Tardenoisian culture found in the area; and second, that in its base occur flints of Early Bronze Age type. No satisfactory Neolithic level has been established in the area, as neither of the two evidences adduced for it in the past,<sup>7</sup> a triangular hollow-based flint arrowhead at two inches from the base of the peat and horn cores of *Bos primigenius* also from the base of the peat,<sup>7</sup> can rank as definitive and conclusive.<sup>8</sup> The evidence for the Early Bronze Age horizon obtained by Francis Buckley is, however, unassailable, and we may refer here to the two best authenticated finds: (i) A barbed and tanged arrowhead from Warcock Hill found in the base of the peat only two inches above the sand. (Huddersfield Museum.)

(ii) A barbed and tanged arrowhead found with its barbs projecting from four inches of peaty

\* The analyses of Raistrick for the Barden Fell peats do not show separate *Tilia* percentages.

clay resting immediately on the grey sand on the N.W. slope of Cupwith Hill. (Manchester Museum.)

Stratigraphically, therefore, it would appear that the Early Bronze Age Horizon in this part of the Pennines occurs in the very base of the peat at from 2 to 4 inches above the grey sand.<sup>9</sup>

In the course of a most important and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the distribution of the Tardenoisian in the region, Dr. Raistrick touches briefly on the results of pollen analytical work, and declares "the basal layers of the peat to be of earliest 'Atlantic' age, " the whole Atlantic period being represented in the section (Truckle Pits, Barden Fell), as well " as part of the Sub-boreal."<sup>10</sup> Now, as we have pointed out, the archaeological evidence suggests that the Early Bronze Age horizon is very close to the base of the peat and would certainly have to be grouped as lying well within 'the basal layers' thereof. It is, however, very well agreed on the Continent that this archaeological period lies within the Sub-boreal climatic period<sup>11</sup>; moreover this has recently been confirmed for this country at two sites in the South-eastern corner of the Fenland<sup>12</sup>, where Early Bronze Age remains have been located in the base of the upper peat bed. From what has been said it should be clear that Dr. Raistrick's findings with regard to the age of the basal layers of the Pennine peat present certain anomalies, which make it difficult to agree with his conclusion that it "establishes the pygmy flints (microliths) as pre-Atlantic in age." As an archaeologist one can do no more than record one's concern at the anomaly which is at any rate apparent—and lapse into that puzzlement in which archaeologists seem condemned to exist.

J. G. D. CLARK.

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- <sup>2</sup> Woodhead, T. W.: 'History of the Vegetation of the Southern Pennines.' *Journal of Ecology*, XVII, 1929.
- <sup>3</sup> Raistrick, A.: 'The distribution of Mesolithic Sites in the North of England.' *Journal of the Yorks. Archaeological Society*, XXXI, 1933.
- <sup>4</sup> Godwin, H. and M. E.: Pollen-analyses of Peats from Plantation Farm in 'Report on an Early Bronze Age Site in the South-Eastern Fens.' G. Clark. *Antiquaries Journal*, XIII, 1933.
- <sup>5</sup> Raistrick, A. and Blackburn, K. B.: 'The Late-Glacial and Post-Glacial Periods in the North Pennines' Pt. III. The Post-Glacial. *Trans. Northern Naturalists Union*, 1, 1933.
- <sup>6</sup> There is another fact with which we shall not deal here—the discovery of Romano-British sherds in the peat and only 18 inches above the grey sand at Warcock Hill. Woodhead, T. W.: 'History of the vegetation of the South Pennines.' *J. of Ecology*, XVII, 1, p. 16.
- <sup>7</sup> Woodhead, T. W.: *opp. cit.*
- <sup>8</sup> e.g., a similar arrowhead came from the Early Bronze Age site at Plantation Farm. *Ant. J.*, July, 1933, p. 266, ff., Fig. 2, No. 33. As for *Bos primigenius* we may quote Dr. Wilfrid Jackson's Woodhenge report, where he says it "is generally believed to have become " extinct in Britain in the Bronze Age."
- <sup>9</sup> All the Early Bronze Age finds made from the base of the Pennine peat made by Francis Buckley are illustrated in *The Mesolithic age in Britain*, J. G. D. Clark, Cambridge, 1932, Fig. 4. See also p. 22.
- <sup>10</sup> Dr. A. Raistrick: 'The Distribution of Mesolithic sites in the North of England.' *Yorks. Arch. Soc. J.*, 1933, p. 152.
- <sup>11</sup> See e.g., Schwantes: *Mitt. d. Mus. für Völkerkunde*, Hamburg. Vol. XIII, pp. 159, ff., Table.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ant. J.*, July, 1933, p. 266, ff.

#### India: Pottery.

Notes on Early Frontier Terra-Cottas. By Major D. H. Gordon, D.S.O.

These notes are supplementary to my longer article on *Early Frontier Terra-cottas* which appeared in J.R.A.I., Vol. LXII, January-June, pp. 163-173. They are written to put on record certain terra-cotta objects which I obtained recently at Sari Dheri in the Chardadad sub-division of the Peshawar District, which were not in my possession at the time of writing my previous article. Three specimens from the Peshawar Museum which I regard as being of outstanding importance are also included.

These subsequent finds tend to weaken rather than strengthen some of my original, very tentative, suggestions. Both No. 1 and No. 2 in Fig. 1 show markings that might be taken for a wreath were the head-dress less complete. At first sight this may seem a trifle unfortunate, for in the archaic figure put forward as a contact with the degenerate classical type (J.R.A.I., LXII, Plate XIII, Fig. 2, No. 29). I have stressed these wreath-like markings and note their absence from all other types. On a close examination, however, I feel that my original argument, though weakened, is not totally destroyed.

Gordon.

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No. 1, a large well-modelled head (see fig. 1 below) in bright red terra-cotta shows better face technique than any of the other archaic types. The eyes are no longer applied and the incisions are neater; these are touched with black paint as are the incisions forming the eyebrows. The chin and, probably, the nose are well modelled. The forehead markings on the two heads singled out to indicate 'contact' between the classical and the archaic types have dwindled to a small *ṭikkā* at the meeting of the eyebrows.

This type must be subsequent to that with a formed chin and applied eyes, and be a step towards the much more advanced product figured in J.R.A.I., LXII, Plate XIII, Fig. 2, No. 32. The disk at the juncture of the wreath cannot be compared with the forehead ornaments or marks on the associated heads mentioned above, as it is definitely part of the head-dress and well clear of the forehead. The



FIG. 1. TERRA-COTTAS FROM SARI-DHERI, NUMBERED THUS:—



FIG. 2. THE ANGEL OF KHAN MĀHI AND TWO WREATHED HEADS FROM AKRA.

1	3
4	2
5	6
7	

same may be said of the similar disk in No. 2; this bust is of a very archaic type made of red terra-cotta height 2·9 inches. The wreath-like markings are so far removed from the face and forehead that I feel justified in suggesting that they have no true bearing on the wreath 'contact' question. This figure has a small forehead ornament in the centre of the brows.

No. 2, which is in singularly good condition, has, in addition to the points already mentioned, some bearing on my 'flat-headed' type. A small head (not reproduced), which is of definitely flat-headed and chinless type, shows slight indications, which time and circumstances may have erased in other specimens, of the contact of an applied head-dress which has become detached. Close examination of bust No. 2 shows that a similar flat-headed appearance would probably result from the head-dress becoming detached. This does not, however, dispose of flatheadedness as a type attribute, as even with the head-dress this figure is singularly flat-headed compared with all others.



No. 3, a small bright red bust, has an embryo chin and is very similar to the female bust pictured in the first plate of A. K. Coomaraswamy's article on 'Archaic Indian Terra-cottas' in *Ipek*, 1928.

No. 4 is a very interesting small male figure of brown terra-cotta, height 3.2 inches. The face is represented only by the head being pinched forward to form a nose. There are two groups, each of five small holes in a rough circle on either side of the nose which possibly represent eyes, and a number of small holes all over the head which probably represent hair.

No. 5 is a curious female torso of brown terra-cotta, height 3.6 inches, with a polished slip that gives an appearance of brown paint. When complete there were six double circles on the front; four marking the breasts, navel, and pudenda. On the back are two single circles on the haunches.

No. 6 is a fragment showing pronounced steatopygy; the line drawing in the text (Fig. 3) shows the accentuated curves, also the leg bangles similar to those on the complete figure from the Peshawar District shown on the same plate in *Ipek*, 1928.

No. 7, a small jug of brownish red pottery, is the only definitely authentic intact specimen of domestic ware, other than cosmetic pots, which I have seen.

An interesting item is an 'amulet' of brown pottery, line drawing Fig. 4. The reverse side has similar small holes and the wavy lines are vertical and not horizontal. The tablet, which measures  $2.1 \times 1.45 \times .6$  inches; is pierced from front to rear and also from side to side in the same manner as some of the male seated figures that have been found at this site.

A small elephant shown in line drawing Fig. 5 is of crude design, the head



FIG. 3. PORTION OF FEMALE FIGURE FROM SARI DHERI.

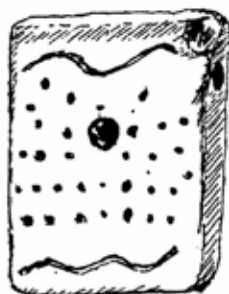


FIG. 4. AMULET FROM SARI DHERI.

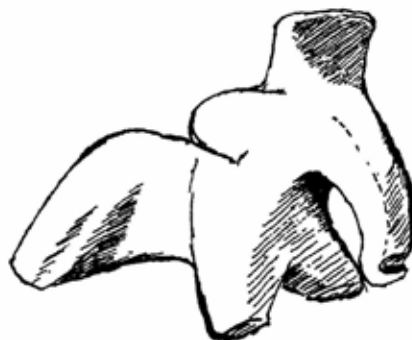


FIG. 5. ELEPHANT FROM SARI DHERI.

being pinched up to form an ornament. In this respect and in the smooth slip technique, it resembles the crude female figure with pierced ears, illustrated in line in my original article and there compared to a very similar example from Bhita, classified as Kushān, but in all probability pre-Kushān.

Other finds include the pottery foot-scraper, also mentioned in my original article with reference to a similar object classified as 'Primitive' at Bhita; a terra-cotta bird figure of unusual type with applied and laterally incised eyes instead of the ordinary round eyes incised with a reed; another specimen of ram's head pot-handle in red terra-cotta with black line painting; and a fragment of orange-red glass bangle found in the handled jug, which may or may not be contemporary.

Fig. 2 shows three specimens from the Peshawar Museum collection. These I am able to reproduce through the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India and of Khān Sahib Ditawar Khān, Curator of the Museum, who has always rendered me the keenest and most ungrudging assistance.

The winged figure which might be well named 'The Angel of Khān Māhi' is of pale brown terra-cotta streaked with dark brown with a highly polished slip, height about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches. It is hollow inside; the back surface is unworked except for a hole about half an inch in diameter. Its dating is difficult for me, as I do not know of any other figure with which a reasonable comparison may be made. The general style and appearance would lead one to suggest that it had been made under European fifteenth-century influence; the prevalence of the winged figure motif, however, in

Gandharan Art, and the fact that the neighbourhood of Khān Māhi was not a centre of culture in later times, but teems with remains of the Græco-Bactrian and Kushān periods, incline one to place it as late second century or early third century A.D.

This piece was bought by the present Curator some years ago from a goldsmith and it is reputed to have come from Khān Māhi, a village about four miles to the north-east of Sari Dheri.

The wreathed heads in Fig. 2 are from Akra, Bannu District, and are of that classical type which, to my thinking, dates from the middle of the second century B.C. The features are sharper and less 'chubby' than in those of similar type found at Sari Dheri, but the style is, if anything, even more European and of a high standard of excellence. I have already drawn parallels between the finds at Sari Dheri and those at Akra; there is a striking similarity at all points, as might reasonably be expected.

My object in presenting these specimens is to set on record such outstanding examples, which, so far as I can ascertain have not been previously noticed; for I consider that any appreciation of *Early Frontier Terra-Cottas* is incomplete without them.

D. H. GORDON.

### ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

**People of the Panjāb Himālaya.** *Summary of a Communication by H. Lee Shuttleworth, I.C.S., retired. 7 February, 1934.*

**71** This Himalayan district lies between the upper Satlej and Indus rivers, to the north-east of Kulu, Chamba and Kashtawār. It comprises the four countries of Spiti, British and Chamba Lāhul, Zangskar, and (to their north-east) Rupshu. Roughly in the centre is the large village of Kyelang, in British Lāhul.

The three countries first named are populated by villagers almost entirely engaged in agriculture, wherever situation and irrigation allow; Rupshu is the western part of the immense Chang-thang ('North Plain') that runs along the entire north of the inhabited parts of Tibet from China to Ladakh. It consists of a series of lofty plateaux, where pastoral nomads tend enormous flocks of sheep, goats, yaks, etc.

South-west of Spiti and Zangskar the mid-Himalayan range now divides Indian from Tibetan civilization; but in earlier days Indian (especially Kashmiri) Buddhism and culture spread to the north-east of this mountain barrier into Zangskar, the upper Indus and Satlej valleys, and about the eighth century Tibetan armies advanced west over all mountain barriers into Kanāwar, Kulu, Lāhul, Brahmaur in Chamba, and probably even into Kashmir.

These countries naturally have a population mixed to a greater or less degree. The border peoples between Tibet and India and on either side of the cultural frontier, Tibetan writers and speakers designate as Mons. They call the people of Kulu and even of Lāhul by that name, though the inhabitants of the upper Lāhul villages on the Bhāga and Chandra valleys are mainly Tibetan and speak Tibetan dialects. Spitians, Chang-pas of Rupshu and Zangskarists they consider Tibetan.

But Spiti, Zangskar and Rupshu have also a few small groups (in the main musicians, artisans and other land-less or flock-less persons), whom the Tibetan inhabitants regard as 'outsiders' (*phyi-pa*). They are the relics of the Mon or other races that formed the main population before the Tibetan movement westward in and prior to the ninth and tenth centuries. Such are the Bhēdas, blacksmiths, carpenters, etc.

In Lāhul the intermingling of peoples is seen best, for there we still have three groups of settled agriculturist Mons, with a slight Tibetan admixture racially and linguistically. Each group speaks its own separate Mon dialect—Bunan, Tinan or Manchati—which are closely akin to the speech of the isolated village of Malāna in Kulu and of Kanāwar on the Satlej. But the lingua-franca of Lāhul for commerce and writing is Tibetan, and under British rule Hindustani also has gained considerable ground. Lāhulas trade with Tibet, India, and even with Turkestan, so some men are trilingual or more, and almost all men are bilingual. But at home they almost always talk their mother-dialect and few women know anything else.

Their social customs and village worship are Mon, even in the linguistically Tibetan parts of Lāhul. We may even venture to say that to a much less degree the same applies to parts of Spiti

and Zangskar, where, however, the later forms of Lamaism penetrated in the fifteenth century. In Spiti, apart from one semi-reformed Sākya and one small unreformed Nying-ma-pa monastery, all monastic establishments have accepted the Ge-lug-pa discipline and dress. This involved a close connection with Gu-ge and Central Tibet, with which Spiti is connected in every way except politically.

Here monastic celibacy is the rule; in Lāhul almost all monks marry. In Zangskar, as in Ladakh, we find both. In Lāhul polyandry is prevalent, but not so in Spiti where all except the elder sons join the local monastery. Certain Lāhul monasteries (of the *Lho-dug-pa* or *Lho-hbrug-pa* sect) are subordinate to establishments in distant Bhutān.

The pastoral nomads of Rupshu are the same in custom, language and race as the inhabitants of the Chang-thang in independent Tibet. Here we find the nearest approach to a pure Mongol-Tibetan type of skull and build, i.e., round, short and broad heads, little hair on the face and sturdy short bodies. The Mons of Lāhul and Malāna are tall, with much hair on their faces, which are long and somewhat narrow. Their heads are distinctly long and usually slightly ridged from back to front.

These two types do not seem to fuse. One son of a mixed marriage belongs to one, another to the other type. Only breadth of nose at the base is common to both types, but the Mon usually has a prominent nose, long and straight, and is often a handsome man according to European standards.

In Spiti the eldest son on marriage, between 20 and 25, becomes master of the ancestral house and lands, and his father is retired to a smaller house and a small field or two. In Lāhul the joint family owns house and land, but when the younger sons marry separately, they lose this, except perhaps for a tenancy or gift of a small part from the eldest brother. In a joint family under polyandry all children belong to the eldest brother, regardless of the actual father.

The paper was illustrated by a film of the sheep and wool industry and the monastic dances.

**Some Aspects of the Kikuyu Tribe.** *Summary of a Communication by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, 6 March, 1934.*

With the aid of lantern slides, Dr. Leakey started his lecture by describing the country inhabited by the Kikuyu tribe. It is highland country ranging from 5,000 to about 8,000 feet, and has a very favourable climate and beautiful scenery. 72

The Kikuyu had first arrived in the country in a hunting stage of culture, and then had gradually developed into agriculturalists. Tradition attributed this change to the time of the Ndemi age group, a very long time ago, probably over three hundred years.

The Kikuyu are now essentially a patrilineal people with sub-clan exogamy, but there was evidence that at a former time they had been matrilineal.

In the southern part of Kikuyu country the land was purchased from the Ndorobo—a hunting tribe—but in the rest of Kikuyu it was occupied by right of prior use. The Kikuyu had transformed large areas of forest into what was now some of the finest agricultural country in East Africa.

Speaking of their tribal organization, Dr. Leakey showed that the idea of 'chiefs' in the English sense of the word was quite foreign to the people. There were clan heads, judicial and legislative elders, and, in times of warfare, military commanders, but these functions were never in the hands of one person, nor was chieftainship hereditary. The social status of a clan head, or a judicial authority, did not differ from that of any other person.

Passing on to what is commonly called 'witchcraft,' Dr. Leakey showed that among the Kikuyu there were three grades of practitioner: (1) the prophets or seers; (2) the herbalists or ordinary doctors; (3) the specialist who dealt with ceremonial purification and the cure of diseases caused by breaking of tribal laws, i.e., the mental specialist.

In addition, there were people who practiced black magic and who were regarded with fear and hatred and, if found out, were burnt to death in olden times.

Dr. Leakey spoke briefly upon agriculture and food crops, showing that one of the effects of contact with European civilization was a reduction in the rarity of foods available in village life. In dealing with agriculture, Dr. Leakey showed how labour was divided among the sexes.

The lecture was concluded with some notes upon Kikuyu dances.

**East African Lacustrine Tribes: A Study in Adaptation.** *Summary of a Communication presented by E. B. Worthington, 20 March, 1934.*

**73** The so-called "backward races" are, like animals and plants, admirably adapted to their environment, and their environment has a marked effect on their evolution. The most striking piece of evolution in progress at present is that of man's brain; this cannot yet be interpreted properly by size or structure nor by psychological tests, but only by what it produces—social organisation and artefacts. The study of artefacts as an index of man's present and future evolution reduces itself to the old argument of invention versus diffusion of culture, and on our attitude to this argument must depend our attitude to the future of backward races under their changing environment: are they static, only capable of picking up ideas from outside, or are they dynamic, capable of evolving on their own? In the latter view, cultural impact is comparable to biological crossing between races, which so often stimulates variation—or in the case of man, invention. Our attitude to education of backward peoples again depends on this; for education is sterile unless it leads to *original* thought and action.

Examples are drawn from the lake dwelling tribes of Kenya and Uganda, where man is considered as an integral part of the biological environment. In common with fishermen all over the world, he shows a deep understanding of such ecological principles as food-chains and the habits of fish. Everywhere his fishing methods, many of them astonishingly ingenious, are adapted to local conditions, which vary from lake to lake. As an aid to fishing, craft of diverse kinds are fashioned out of the material which is to hand, whether papyrus, palm, ambatch, saplings or timber. Often one tribe, such as the Jalu, make many kinds of fishing gear and craft to suit special conditions. With regard to plank built canoes there is a *prima facie* case for the evolution of the Baganda canoe from the dugout by minor gradations, many intermediates being still in use on Lake Victoria.

In a general study of African science now in progress the problem of nutrition stands out as a fulcrum on which other problems must be balanced. There is a body of evidence to show that native diet is often deficient in minerals which can be supplied by fish, and the great lake and sea fisheries offer a remarkable opportunity for development *via* the shore dwelling tribes.

## REVIEWS.

**The Progress of Man.** By A. M. Hocart. London: Methuen & Co., 1933. Price 7s. 6d.

**74** Mr. Hocart has tackled a most difficult and most important task. He attempts not only a 'short survey of man's evolution, his customs and his works' as the sub-title indicates but is intent on counteracting the centrifugal specializations of the various anthropological sciences and at the same time endeavours to disclose avenues of logical thought and valid generalization by which the beginner may explore the tangled jungles of fact and hypothesis. The rapid advances within some branches of anthropological science have tended in recent years to lure specialists to take a somewhat complacent refuge in the satisfactions of their special techniques and theories. The effort towards an eusynoptic view which was so admirable a quality in British anthropology of the late nineteenth century has tended to lapse at the very time when other sciences are enjoying the benefits of cross fertilization in an increasing degree.

In a short book making no assumption of specialized knowledge and written for those that come freshly to the matter Mr. Hocart conducts his survey and analysis. He is not optimistic: indeed he begins:—"To write a textbook of a science that does not exist might seem impossible. It is. But . . . something had to be done. Masses of facts threaten to crush the student as they are crushing the specialist." His lodestones are, briefly, first the continuity of savage and antique cultures with those

of the modern world and hence great importance of historical perspective and an appreciation of the great potentialities for mutation in the form, content and function of cultural elements; and secondly the urgency of the quest for broad working hypotheses which will give 'power over facts' and bring the multitudinous special and restricted theories into provisional relationships which can be further tested.

The early chapter on 'The Body' and the early part of the chapter on 'Mechanism,' dealing with the broad outlines of the prehistoric cultures of Europe, are disappointing in that they appear to fall away from the objective of the book as a whole and are too concerned with a statement of traditional terminology which must be incomplete. The account of the palaeolithic sequence indeed often ignores those features of continuity and combination of essential techniques whose recent analysis by Breuil and others should, one would have thought, been most significant for Mr. Hocart's argument. To ignore the Clactonian and the development of the Levallois flake, and merely to enumerate the old classification from type sites is to miss a valuable opportunity, while to suggest that the Palaeolithic "is now joined to the Neolithic by the Mesolithic" and that the Campignyan "introduces the Neolithic Age of Europe" is to misread the sequence. The later part of this chapter is however very illuminating. Pointing out that techniques, not tools themselves, develop, Mr. Hocart briefly sketches development in the application of a few mechanical

principles under such headings as striking, leverage, and momentum. He then attempts to apply the same principles of classification by technique, material and idea as distinct from traditional craft and existing function in the following chapters on architecture, storage, clothing, food supply, etc. The chapter on the 'Production of Food' takes little notice of recent and very pertinent evidence concerning cultivation and domestication in the Ancient East and uses the term 'Neolithic' in a question-begging way. But throughout he emphasises the frequency with which non-utilitarian motives appear to initiate procedures which only later acquire a domestic or economic importance and illustrates the inadequacy of the appeal to 'common sense' and the 'obvious'—i.e. our obvious—in accounting for cultural development. Although the material of these short chapters is often cast in the form of notes, so that the argument is not everywhere clear, they are surprisingly comprehensive and very suggestive.

The next and most weighty section of the book is far more closely argued and contains an important development and widening of the analysis Mr. Hocart presented in 'Kingship.' Displaying rituals of all kinds as quests of life, that is not merely the seeking of survival but the maintenance of prosperity and health he points out that our physiological distinction between life and death does not mark the threshold at which ritual is invoked and proceeds to consider some of the symbols of health. It is from this angle that crisis ceremonies, belief in supernatural force, funerary rites and curing are successively discussed.

The later chapters dealing with social activities again emphasize the fundamental objectives and traditions which underlie manifold patterns of organization and conduct.

Mr. Hocart has adopted a ruthless solution for reviewing this vast field in so small a compass. The style is compressed and is often staccato in the extreme. Interesting analogies and *obiter dicta* are jotted down without comment and one wonders whether the uninitiated may not sometimes be worried by apparent inconsequence. But although so severely unadorned 'The Progress of Man' is never dull reading. Both the text, the footnotes, and the notes on books are full of pithy and even caustic comments. Such statements as "The serious student must go to the original sources for non-Europeans, just as he would do in Greek or Medieval History . . . [accounts of living peoples] too often give us the author's interpretation of the facts not the facts themselves. That makes them more entertaining to read since they give us familiar European thought instead of the remote native thought. . . . But what we want is the native thought, not that of the author" or "Grain being about the only vegetable food the archaeologist can find he tends to lose sight of the roots" are characteristic.

In reading this book the reasons for particular inclusions and exclusions will inevitably be raised in the mind of those familiar with some aspects of the material, but these will not bother the novice for whom they are primarily intended. The difference in quality and appeal between different parts is, however, more serious. The opening chapters tend to be too hastily sketched for the student and yet enumerate facts or classification superfluous for the more advanced reader. I could have wished that this part of the book might have been developed to match the longer sections on ritual and society and that the underlying unities of human endeavour, throughout technical, ritual and social activities, had been more prominently stressed.

To the careful reader the last will however be clear and Mr. Hocart's book is genuinely thought-provoking. It is indeed a most valuable 'lever . . . to move masses' of facts. C. D. F.

## PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

**The Mechanism of Creative Evolution.** By C. C. Hurst. Cambridge University Press, 1932. Large 8vo. xxii + 386 pp., frontispiece and 199 figures. Price 21s. net. **75**

A general survey of the genetic facts on which theories of creative evolution must rest is no less welcome to anthropologists than to students of other departments of biology. Mendel's original discovery, Bateson's recognition of it, and his experimental verifications, de Vries' collateral experiments, and the subsequent development due to Hunt Morgan and many other workers, can now be presented in proper perspective, and Dr. Hurst is well qualified by his own work to do this. The earlier chapters of this book deal accordingly with the biology of cells and the means by which cell characters are distributed at cell-division; the redistribution of characters when an egg-cell is fertilized; the relation between the chromosome characters of distinct species; the significance of supernumerary, deficient and duplicated chromosomes, and the origin of new characters by gene mutations. Experimental changes due to X-rays lead on to another aspect of the whole problem, the application of these discoveries to modify natural types in desired directions. More relevant to anthropological studies is the record of transmissions and mutations in Man, revealed by pedigrees in default of experiments. Sex, parthenogenesis, and the special problem of unicellular organism, receive separate treatment; and the interpretation of the gene as the 'unit of life,' in the light of biophysical and biochemical researches, which have shown that the basis of life is "so much more minute and complex than had been anticipated" (p. 294).

For the application of all this to the "evolution of man and mind," Dr. Hurst is content with a diagrammatic summary wherein "primitive human conceptual mind" is represented as originating in Early Pliocene times, and as revealed by eolithic artefacts; and Anau, Vinca, and other examples of early culture are equated with the Littorina Sea; which simplifies history overmuch. In the final chapter, entitled 'Speculations,' several tempting prospects are displayed; but the risks are illustrated by the account of Oldoway man on p. 330. It is not quite easy to reconcile the announcement of "an exact science of experimental evolution based on genetics" on p. 337-8 with the admission that the "indeterminate nature of mutations and transmutations, and the local contingency and randomness of natural and human selection" make it "impossible to predict the precise nature of future species, and consequently to foresee the future of creative evolution." It is, in fact, "at this point that scientific determinism breaks down" (p. 339). But such speculations are really outside the scope of such a guide to the 'mechanism' of creative evolution, and do not affect its utility, which is great. Its general presentation, numerous clear illustrations, and full bibliography, deserve special commendation. J. L. M.

**War, Sadism, and Pacifism.** Three Essays by Edward Glover, M.D. London: George Allen and Unwin, Limited, 1933. 148 pp. Price 3s. 6d. **76**

This little book, which, it appears, is the result of addresses given to the League of Nations Societies, represents the most consistent effort yet made to apply our present psycho-analytical knowledge to the problems



of war and peace. It differs strikingly from most other books on pacifism, not only in its consistently psychological orientation, but in the fact that it pleads for research rather than for the immediate pursuit of this or that practical measure. Indeed, the final section of the book is devoted to a rather elaborate 'Outline of Research,' though, in view of the complexity of the factors involved, the author is far from optimistic as to any results of such research that will become available 'in our time.' The 'Outline' is presented 'for the consideration of some future International War Research Board,' and suggests that researches should be organized using time-units of from 5 to 50 years, that a formal interim report should be presented after 50 years, that small scale experiments should be conducted over a minimum period of 10 years and large scale ones over periods of 100 to 1,000 years. Indeed, the author seems to have taken to heart the statement that Wells puts into the mouth of one of his characters to the effect that "men who think in lifetimes are of no use to statesmanship."

In view, however, of the fact that at present 'not one country in the world spends a sou on investigating the psychological phenomena and motivation of war,' the outlook for the present and immediately succeeding generations would appear to be anything but rosy.

And yet the more hopeful among us may perhaps derive some consolation from calling to mind that practically none of the psychological processes considered in this book were known 40 years ago, while the most important of them were scarcely discovered 15 years ago—and this in spite of the fact that only a handful of unofficial workers has been engaged on their elucidation. There can be little doubt that Freud's doctrine of the Super-ego, with its implications as regards the double tendency to inflict suffering both upon others and upon ourselves, is of the greatest importance both for individual and for group psychology. It casts a flood of light, for instance, upon those hopelessly unreasonable factors in the human mind, in virtue of which mankind still takes no effective steps to prevent war, though intellectually convinced alike of its imminence, its immorality and its unprofitableness.

To what extent such knowledge will aid prevention is another question. One thing seems fairly certain that the new knowledge will find some of its most important applications in the early years of life, for it is then that there are formed those character qualities that—under present conditions—ultimately issue in war. The statesman of the future will clearly have a deep interest in what is happening in the nations' nurseries.

There is inevitably much that is controversial in these three brief essays. But the considerations which they raise are of the utmost gravity to all who have an interest in the future of the human race.

J. C. FLUGEL.

**Celtic Ornament in the British Isles down to A.D. 700.** By E. T. Leeds. Oxford, 1933. 170 pp., 40 figures and 3 coloured plates. Price, 12s. 6d.

This study of native art in Britain during the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 700 is a concise statement of the researches that Mr. Leeds felt himself bound to undertake before delivering an hour's lecture to the recent Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, and it is a remarkable witness to his thoroughness and energy; for there is enough travelling and note-taking behind this slim volume to have kept an ordinary man fully occupied for a long period, yet Mr. Leeds had no more leisure than that which the busy life of Ashmole's Keeper allows. It is a duty, therefore, as most English archaeologists will agree, to begin a review of this book with a testimony of

the admiration we feel for an author able to produce a work so important under conditions wherein maximum haste was demanded and opportunity was reduced to a minimum.

Mr. Leeds goes immediately to his material, for it was not within the scope of the book that he should give us an adequate background to the objects he so adroitly arranges in stylistic and typological series. But he has no difficulty in forcing a narrative out of his sequences of styles and patterns. Starting with imported and very early pieces, we pass to the British development of La Tène art, as exemplified by our mirror-series, the well-known champlévé enamels, tankard handles, and bronze spoons. Mr. Leeds then discusses the British coins, human and animal figures in Celtic art, and, finally, the story of this art in Roman and post-Roman times. In this account he snatches from us more than one chronological comfort, such as the association of the Birdlip mirror with a brooch of the first century A.D., and is at great pains to show how in western Britain the finest flower of Celtic art had blossomed a full century before the Claudian conquest and was "withering to its death" at a time which others have deemed to be that of the bud's most gorgeous unfolding. Herein we are given ample scope for discussion, and I would suggest that what we may call the 'Birdlip' form of scroll-work may not always be assessed as highly as in this account by Mr. Leeds, and a writing-down of it would bring some important points into a prominence that the author is not prepared to accord to them. For surely this Birdlip art marks not the grandeur of Celtic design, but one of its most fatal weaknesses; that is, a tendency to dissolve into a banal symmetry under the pervasive influence of classical art. It is in isolation that barbarian art is strong. Admit Rome, and you descend from the delights of the early scabbards to the heavy serenity of Birdlip. But hide away from Rome, and the west will still give you on a late and poor little Cornish mirror a brilliant design such as elsewhere in England the dominant return to symmetry had made impossible. So, too, the fastnesses of Wales can still produce masterpieces executed with the full precision and delicacy of the antique Celtic style, at a time when in south-eastern England Mr. Leeds is hard put to it to find any Celtic art at all.

To begin to argue about this book is a tribute both to the fascination of the subject and to the novelty and robust outspokenness of Mr. Leeds's survey. Nobody will deny the book's worth. It covers its chosen ground fairly and without prejudice, and it is packed full of arresting observations. It is, moreover, adequately illustrated, for those who already know the material and have the British Museum 'Iron Age Guide' at hand. There are three coloured plates, on one of which we are given no less than seven bowl-escutcheons, and among the other pictures are many that are likewise new and of considerable importance.

T. D. KENDRICK.

**Die Nyamwezi. Gesellschaft und Weltbild.** By Wilhelm Blohm. Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., Hamburg. 208 pp., 22 plates.

This is the second volume of Herr Blohm's material on the Nyamwezi, the first, dealing with 'Land und Wirtschaft,' having appeared in 1931. This volume covers the physical characteristics of the people, family life, social classes, political organization, 'manners and customs' (which include co-operative building, blood-brotherhood, and clothing), marriage, mortuary customs, law, medicine, religion and magic. The dichotomy is unfortunate, not only because the reader who has not read the earlier volume will find in this no indication of the geographical situation, population density or natural

environment of the tribe which is discussed, but because it indicates a failure to recognize the close relationship which must inevitably exist between economic pursuits and many of the topics which are dealt with here. One need mention only such points as the laws of land tenure and property, or, again, the belief in magic.

Herr Blohm proceeds by the method of collecting and translating native texts, of which this book contains over two hundred. This method has the merit which the author claims for it, of letting the native speak for himself, but one cannot help feeling that the ethnologist who stops there has taken his task too lightly. The reader is faced at the outset with the difficulty that he has no idea of the type of native from whom the texts were collected. How many informants were used, what were their qualifications to be regarded as representative or as especially reliable in some particular field of inquiry? There are one or two cases where the influence of European education is obvious: for example, where an enthusiastic description of the beer provided as recompense to friends who have helped in building a house concludes with the statement that respectable people on such occasions provide food only, not beer. An even more poignant narrative describes a conversation on the subject of fornication between a virtuous young man and his unregenerate friends, whose views eventually prevail. The latter is a document of real sociological interest; but it should not have been left to the reader to make the inference, however obvious, that the author was a Christian convert, and he ought to have been provided with a sample of orthodox pagan opinion on the same subject.

A more serious criticism of this method is that the native obviously cannot analyse his own culture as the ethnologist should make it his duty to do. Native texts provide an invaluable starting-point for further inquiries and guide for direct observation; but such observation has to be directed very largely to filling in the details which are too prosaic to be noticed by the informant, and to noting the discrepancies between actual facts and the stylized or idealized picture given by him. Commentaries, even on a concrete and still more on an abstract case, represent the native view of what ought to be, and as such are highly important, but they give a very incomplete picture if they are not supplemented by investigation into what actually is. We meet constantly in this book with statements that open up rich possibilities of inquiry, but are simply left without comment. Perhaps the most striking is the statement that inheritance is patrilineal in one part of the territory and matrilineal in the other. This has impressed the native commentator, who stresses the difference, but the ethnologist makes no mention of it.

Perhaps the least satisfactory part of the book is its treatment of kinship. The all-embracing word *Sippe* is used of paternal and maternal relatives at the same time. The *Grossfamilie* is said to be patrilineal, no exception being made for the case of matrilineal inheritance quoted in the section on 'law.' The *Sippe* is a body which is constantly breaking up into smaller groups, but there is no attempt to define the group which really

is a co-operating unit nor the bonds which unite it. Moreover, the section in the chapter on 'religion,' which finds relics of totemism in the custom of dedicating individual animals to a spirit, contains no mention of animal names or taboos connected with animals as the distinguishing feature of kinship groups. The student who is acquainted with neighbouring tribes is surely justified in asking to be explicitly informed if the Nyanwezi really are unique in this respect.

A combination of the very valuable material in this book with the author's intimate personal knowledge of the culture with which it deals could have produced a really illuminating analysis of the social organization of this important tribe. Perhaps Herr Blohm will go on to such a full analysis at a later date. L. P. MAIR.

**Bella Bella Tales.** By Franz Boas. *Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore. Soc.* Vol. XXV, 1932. 178 pp.

These mythological tales are nearly all of types familiar in these islands. Thus we have the sister-wife, the fish-wife, and the wife who must not be scolded; the other world where days are years, and the other world where one must not eat; the part-time animals who become whole-time human beings when their skins are stolen, and so on. Prof. Boas, in his introduction, remarks that some of the tales are of recent introduction, and that the tales as a whole cannot be fitted into any system of mythology. He notes that among the Bella Bella, as among the Bella Coola, the tales always refer to the descent of village lines from marriages between brother and sister, but that among the Kwakiutl this trait disappears. He says that it "is based entirely on the desire of keeping privileges within the family" (p. vi). We are presumably to infer that the Kwakiutl never wish to keep privileges within the family.

The editing is careful, and from the point of view of the Americanist no doubt fully adequate. To the non-expert two criticisms suggest themselves. We are told nothing of the Bella Bella, not even where they live; the only clue is an incidental reference to Vancouver. Native names are reproduced in a cabalistic script to which there is no key. This makes the tales difficult to read, and impossible to quote verbatim. RAGLAN.

**Witchcraft and Demonism.** By C. L'Estrange. *Even.* 494 pp. 9 plates. London: Heath Cranton, 1933. Price 25s.

Mr. L'Estrange Ewen announces in his Preface that the book is "merely a collection of information, which I hope will be the happy hunting-ground for those who write the popular accounts." As that is the summit of his ambition it is hardly worth while to take his lengthy and uncritical Introduction seriously. The main part of the book consists of summaries of witch-trials, but as Mr. Ewen has attempted to make these summaries 'more readable than the exact transcript,' any student of the subject will always be obliged to refer to the originals. Fortunately for any such student who may consult Mr. Ewen's book the author has been careful to give his references with precision.

M. A. MURRAY.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### African Tribal Titles.

SIR,—In MAN, 1934, 46, Mr. Cullen Young states that the term *Wa-Sokile* is a nickname covering two related tribal groups, and suggests that it should be abandoned in favour of the combination *Ngonde-Nyakyusa*. The Council of The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures also recently

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recommended to the Colonial Office that as far as possible the name by which the people call themselves should be used, not the one given to them by others, though it added that concessions would have to be made in the case of widely-known names. The Council also recommended that tribal names should be used in their root form only, i.e., without prefixes or suffixes.

The Council was well advised to add that concessions would have to be made in certain cases, for if well-known tribal titles were abandoned in favour of more "correct" titles hopeless confusion would result. Moreover, it should be remembered that in many cases the "correct" title may itself have been a sobriquet, and that in some cases also the tribe possesses no generic title except that conferred by others.

As for the Council's suggestion that tribal names should be used in their root form only, this would in many instances be impossible, not merely because the name is already geographically fixed, but because the dropping of the prefix would leave the term meaningless. Thus the tribal title may mean "The people (Ba-) of the hills" or "The people of the river." Drop the prefix and you would be calling the people "The hills" or "The river"! Again, the use of a prefix or suffix sometimes serves to differentiate tribes whose name embodies the same root. Thus, in Nigeria there are the *Cham*, the *Chamba*, and the *Bachama*. Drop the affixes and no one would know to which tribe reference was being made.

I am not suggesting that in the particular case of the *Wa-Sokile* it would be inadvisable to change the title, but merely that no hard and fast rule can be laid down as regards tribal titles in general.

There is another matter of interest in connection with African tribal titles, viz., the similarity of the names of tribes which may be hundreds or even thousands of miles apart. To take a few examples, there is a *Ganda* tribe in Nigeria, another in Angola, and a third in Uganda. There are the *Lala* of Nigeria and the *Lala-Lamba* in East Africa. Among the Lango there is a tribal group known as the *Kere-Kere*, and there is a *Kere-Kere* tribe in Nigeria. The *Achewa* of Nyasaland used to be known as the *Piri*, and there is a *Piri* tribe in Nigeria. *Kahugu* and *Kagoma* are tribal titles in Nigeria and *Kihugu* and *Kigoma* in Tanganyika. There are *Hwana* in Nigeria and also in the Kwango-Kasai region. *Kagoro* is a tribal title in Nigeria and French West Africa, and occurs as *Kaguru* in East Africa. There are *Nama* in Nigeria and among the Hottentots. And so on *ad infinitum*.

An obvious explanation is that these titles are derived from a common stock of Nigritic roots (from which the Bantu and Sudanic linguistic families have both drawn), but they have often no apparent meaning in the language of the people who bear them. C. K. MEEK.

#### Northern Nigeria: Cleavers of Lower Palaeolithic type.

**82** SIR,—With reference to Mr. Henry Balfour's article on the "Occurrence of Cleavers of Lower Palaeolithic type in Northern Nigeria," in your issue for February last, I should like to say that cleavers are common tools in the Chelleo-Acheulean of Uganda. Leakey has shown that they also occur in Kenya Colony, and numbers of them have recently been recovered from the ancient gravels of the Yala river in the Kakamega gold field during sluicing operations.

The first artifact of this sort discovered in Uganda was obtained by me in 1919 from the Aswa (a tributary of the Muzizi, a short river that falls into Lake Albert at its south-east end). One extremity of this tool is a well-made point, the other a typical cleaver; but I did not recognize the cleaver as a specific tool in those days. Many of the Uganda cleavers show the Pniel technique; most of them are about 6 inches long, and they may be divided into two types: horizontal (like those figured by Mr. Balfour) and oblique (in which the cleaver edge makes an angle of 45°, more or less, with the long axis of the tool).

Most Uganda cleavers are about 6 inches long. Some

are not more than 3 inches long, but these are very rare; giant forms occur and I have one that measures 12 inches by 7 inches by 1½ inches, approximately. Geological Survey Office, Entebbe, Uganda. E. J. WAYLAND.

#### Momiyai and Silajit (see MAN 1933, 163; 1934, 22).

**83** SIR,—I have read Mr. Huntingford's letter (MAN, 1934, 22) with great interest, especially his reference to the child buried in a jar of honey. He fails, however, to convince me that *Momiyai* is derived from *mūmid*. *Momiyai* appears to have been a word coined, and very largely used, in Persia. The Persian lexicographers, as I have shown, associated the word quite definitely with *Mōm*, "wax." Though I have never seen *Momiyai*, I have seen *pahār-ka-puscena*, the sweat of mountains, readily recognised by that name by those with whom I have discussed it, but technically called *silā-* (or *šila*) *jūt*. Now both *šilājūta* and *šilājatu* in Sanskrit mean "bitumen." So far as I can discover *šilā-jūta* means literally the "prize of the rock" and *šilā-jātu* the "lac-dye of the rock." R. L. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary* gives *šilājūt*, a particular kind of medicinal drug; and *šilājatu*, a particular kind of medicine used as an aphrodisiac. Jawahir Singh's *Punjabi Dictionary* gives *šilājūt*—"storax" (!) This sent me to Chambers Dictionary where I found "*Storax*, a resin resembling benzoin . . . once used "as a stimulating expectorant."

So much for the dictionaries. The *šilājūt* that I saw was a translucent seepage from sandstone rock, resembling resin. I was told that it was highly prized as a drug to make men strong and potent. It is scraped off the rock and then undergoes an elaborate refining process.

It seems that both *Momiyai* and *Silājūt* have been, and perhaps are, connected with bitumen. Even so, I feel the natural *Momiyai* called *Araq-ul-jibāl*, the "Sweat of Mountains," was a substance more like the *Silājūt* that I have seen, which is recognised as *pahār-ka-puscena*. Also whatever meaning it may now possess in Persia, *Momiyai* in India refers to the artificial and disreputable *Momiyai* which is produced from human beings. D. H. GORDON.

#### Magical Stones from Mota, Banks Islands, Melanesia.

**84** SIR,—In Mr. Braunholtz's interesting note on the above (MAN, 1934, 49), it is stated, in reference to one of the stones, that the fact that the pump drill was used to bore the shell disks as money may explain the association of ideas in this case.

Now, Codrington ('The Melanesians,' pp. 325-6), after mentioning that shell money was made by using a pump drill in Florida and San Cristoval, both in the Solomon Islands, not the Banks group, goes on to describe the making of it in the Banks Islands by a different method, and says: "No drill is needed, as 'indeed none is known.'" Also, Rivers ('The History of Melanesian Society,' Vol. I, p. 167), describes more fully the making of shell money in the Banks Islands in which no drill is used.

In view of the above, it seems that the pump drill explanation is not admissible.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

#### Milking and Rainmaking.

**85** SIR,—Can anyone tell me of a rain-making ceremony in which cattle, more particularly milking, plays a part? A likely region is East Africa, possibly India. A. M. HOCART.





FIG. 1. THE BANANA GROVE AND SCREEN SHEWING TEMPLE WITHIN.



FIG. 2. THE TEMPLE AT THE FOOT OF THE SACRED MURA TREE.

**MIDZIMU WORSHIP IN A VILLAGE OF THE WABARWE TRIBE.**

*Photographs by Rev. Denys Shropshire, C.R.*



# MAN

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

#### Africa: Ancestor-Worship.

With Plate E.

Shropshire.

*Midzimu* Worship in a Village of the WaBarwe Tribe. By Rev. D. Shropshire, C.R.

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We were travelling somewhere between Taugwena and the Sambidzi river amongst the WaBarwe tribe in Portuguese territory. On entering a certain village my boy called my attention to a banana grove about sixty yards away. After I had exchanged greetings with the inhabitants of the village, I took

a walk towards the grove. An opening between the banana trees was screened off by a decorated screen of bamboo poles (Fig. 1), leaving an open doorway wide enough for two or three people to pass through when walking abreast. I passed through this doorway and saw in the middle of the grove a small house (7 feet long by 5 feet wide with walls 3 feet high and having a thatched roof gabled 5 feet high) made of poles and reeds and having a small wicket gate made of reeds (Fig. 2). This building, I was told, was the House of the *Midzimu* (departed ancestors) and was a Temple for regular worship. Within the Temple at the end furthest from the door were two *hari* (clay pots) sunk into the ground, a large



FIG. 3. THE MUZUKURU AND TEMPLE, SHEWING THE TWO HARI SUNK INTO THE GROUND AND THE OFFERED GIFTS.

banana leaf on the ground in front of them and two small pieces of bamboo and a calabash hanging from the ceiling, also an empty calabash inserted in the ground upside down (Fig. 3). With regard to the two pots sunk in the ground, I was told that one was for offerings to the mothers (*mbuya*) of the forefathers of the head of the village, and the other for the mother of his father.

In the early afternoon the following persons took part in the worship of their ancestors: the *muzukuru* of the head of the village (the head of the village being absent), the *sekuru* and his wife and her child, and another *sekuru*.

The Temple floor and precincts were carefully swept clean by the *muzukuru*, after which he placed a reed mat in front of the door of the Temple and a new, large, clean banana leaf inside the Temple

and in front of the two clay pots. A procession was formed at a house in the village and wended its way to the Temple, the wife of the *sekuru* of the head of the village carrying mealie meal on a wooden plate.

On arriving at the Temple all kneel and *kuwombera* (clap hands ceremonially in greeting to the *Midzimu*). The *muzukuru* now enters the Temple, sits on the ground and all *kuwombera* again, after which they wait in silence for a short time.

The *muzukuru* then says the following words:—

“*Mbuya Sarina utichengeti zwakanaka mubari wako uyo anari pano kukuchengeta Parebi pano.*

“*Ndakasara ndini pano. Wazungu wakati chengeta nyika e sekuru wako.*”

He now places mealie meal round one pot and all *kuwombera* and then remain silent for a short time, after which he proceeds:—

“*Sekuru Charampeni, wambva Charampeni izwi mwa wa Zungu ari kuti tifuna kuwona. Sekuru mutichengeti ngekuti mwana wanu pano Paribi. Zwakanaka tichengeti ndakara ndini muzukuru wako.*” (Great-grandmother Sarina take care of us very well. Your mother who was keeping you is not present here. I am left here. The Whiteman says, “Take care of your *sekuru's* place.” *Sekuru Charampeni* do you



FIG. 4. THE MUZUKURU WITHIN THE TEMPLE PRESENTING THE OFFERINGS.

hear, Charampeni, these words of the White man who says they want to see how we offer what we have done here. *Sekuru*, keep us because your son is not here. Keep us well. I stay here, your *muzukuru*.)

He now places mealie meal round the second pot and all *kuwombera* and remain silent.

This prayer having been said, the *muzukuru* came out of the Temple and closed the wicket gate, and the procession was formed again and slowly wended its way back to the house in the village.

After the ceremony the *muzukuru* vouchsafed the following information.

When they have the Great Offering and Worship of the *Midzimu* at the time of the Sowing Season they offer beer, bananas, and rice in addition to the offering of mealie meal, all of which are placed behind the screen. There are two relatives appointed as gate-keepers to scrutinize the offerings and to see that no outsider enters within the Temple precincts. Two *Wakuru* (elders) drink the two pots offered to the spirits and the other relatives have their feast inside the screen. The two gate-keepers eat at the gate. After the feast they move into the village where the spirit dances take place—the *Mapadza* dance, the *Chikunumbira* dance, and the *Kateko* dance.

They do not touch the mealie meal which is offered to the spirits; it is simply left there. The flag flying from the roof of the Temple is to call the spirits and to show them their home. It was black at first, but has become white; it should be black because the spirits like black things. The cross on the Temple roof is to show that the spirits have been shut down (crossed). They would be very angry if they did not have a cross to show that they are departed. The screen is placed there to make a beautiful house for the departed, and the cleared space in front of the Temple is made so that it will be clear to them if any snakes or any footsteps of intruders have been there.

“When we offer, we know the *Midzimu* are present with us, but we do not know where they are.

" Their work is to protect us. If we forget to worship they will punish us, especially at the beginning of the rainy season. We give many offerings at the time of the First rains in November, but only a few at the time of the Second reaping. Also they are very angry if we do not offer before planting. If you stint them they can call the birds to finish all your crops. It is really only to remember them. We give offerings to them to save trouble and punishment. They will punish you if they are not remembered, but they are more happy where they are than they were when they were living on earth. When the father dies he sends the *mbuya* (grandmother) to trouble his people, but does not go himself. The children alternately worship the *mbuya* and the *sekuru* (grandfather). They just call the spirits they know and ask them to call the others, for they are all like birds and can call one another."

" The *Midzimu* are spirits of our family only and before they come they give you notice. They are not like the *Mabswoka* spirits who come as a thief, for we are glad that they are near us. They only punish us when we do not do our duty by them. We do not like not to give them something, and they do not punish us if we have nothing to give."

I asked if his people ever worshipped *Murungu* (the Supreme Being). He replied, "No." Then I suggested a few occasions when possibly they did worship him. Here he said I was quite right, and he then began to impart the following information:

" Hunters when out hunting pray to him, 'Let us hunt well.' When people die suddenly their relatives pray to him to know the reason of it. When there is a great famine the Paramount Chief calls all his people and the people dance the *Mafue* (an ancient Rain dance) before him and *Murungu* answers with rain. Also, if the *Midzimu* fail to make a person well, his people will pray to *Murungu* that he may get well. But we do not pray to *Murungu* very much because he is too far away and there is no way to reach him. The *Midzimu* pray to him because they can see a way to him and have reached to him. Generally we pray to them so that they can pray to *Murungu*."

FATHER DENYS SHROPSHIRE, C.R.

## Ireland: Tradition.

Jackson.

Tradition in Early Irish Prophecy. By K. Jackson.

The Irish tale known as the 'Colloquy of the Two Sages'<sup>1</sup> tells how two poets, Néde and Ferchertne, made trial of each other's poetic skill<sup>2</sup> as follows:—Ferchertne asked Néde several questions about his antecedents which Néde answered in obscure terms, and Ferchertne at Néde's challenge gave his own answers to the same questions in what was evidently even more learned language, since he came off victor. The tale thus consists of a number of pairs of short contrasted poems, each on a given question, set in a framework of prose. The scene is at the court of Conchobhar of Ulster in the first century A.D., but the tale dates probably from the ninth century. During the two centuries immediately preceding this period<sup>3</sup> the non-Christian oral poetry of the *filidh*, the poets and seers of the native tradition—mostly, so far as is known, panegyric, genealogy, prophecy, and spells—was giving place to a different type with other themes in foreign (Latin) metres, often composed by clerics and written down from the beginning; and antiquarians were becoming interested in the older matter as an obsolete form of literature. The Colloquy is evidently the work of a ninth-century antiquarian, composed on what he knew or believed to have been the models of the *filidh*, and, as such, commended itself to the antiquarian Cormac mac Cuilennáin (early tenth century), who quotes it several times in his glossary.

The Colloquy leads up to the final and perhaps most important question, where Ferchertne proves decisively his superiority; he asks: "Didactic young man, have you tidings (*scéla*)?" and Néde replies:

"I have indeed, Good tidings, Sea fruitful, Strand wave-washed, Woods smile, Witchcraft flees, Orchards prosper, Cornfields flourish, Bee-swarms abundant, The world cheerful, Joyous peace, Happy summer, Multitudes prosperous, Kings genial, Wisdom wonderful, Battle departs,

<sup>1</sup> Ed. and tr. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, vol. XXVI, p. 4 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Not the ordinary test of knowledge found in the mediæval riddling (*Streitgedicht*), but of proficiency in obscure diction; the questions are quite straightforward.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., K. Meyer, 'Learning in Ireland in the Fifth Century' (Dublin, 1913), p. 13; and G. Murphy, 'The Origin of Irish Nature Poetry' "Studies," March, 1931, p. 95.

"Everyone to his craft, Men to valour, Women to embroidery, Champions . . . , Treasures smile, Valour fulfilled, Every craft complete, Every good thing fair, Every tidings good, Good tidings."

This poem has been taken to be a description of an existing state of affairs, no doubt because the five verbs are in the present tense; but the next poem, Ferchertne's answer to the same request for tidings (*scéla*), is a prophecy, and the analogy shows that Néde's poem should be so taken too; the two poems are, in fact, not only tests of diction, but also of the chief qualification of a *file*, ability to prophesy. The word *scél*, plural *scéla*, means *story, news, tidings*, but the demand for a *scél* is answered by a prophecy in a passage from another early tale (*see below*), and the Welsh cognate, *chwedl*, could be used in a similar way in prophetic contexts<sup>4</sup>; so that it would appear that *scél-chwedl* might be applied to the statement made by the seer about the picture of the future with which his inspired vision presented him, just as a crystal-gazer *sees* future events occurring in the present, and in this the present tense would be not unnatural. Compare a well-known passage in the *Táin Bó Cuailgne*<sup>5</sup> where Medb asks a prophetess to look to see what will happen to her army, and the prophetess looks (*i.e.*, has recourse to her second-sight) and replies that she *sees* (in the present) the army stained with blood; she employs *imbass forosnai*, "the knowledge which enlightens," one of the types of that inspired vision which was the usual means of foretelling used by prophets in Irish story. That some such practice was actually existing in twelfth-century Wales, when the soothsayer (*awenydd*, lit. 'inspired person') went into a trance and chanted a prophecy, is witnessed by Giraldus Cambrensis.<sup>6</sup>

The content of Néde's prophecy seems to be the fertility and prosperity of nature and man alike, and the conception of the interdependence of the two is a well-known feature in primitive thought; it appears also in the prophecy or charm about Ireland (to be taken either way, according as the mood is understood to be indicative or subjunctive) supposed to have been sung by the druid Amaigen when the Milesians were attempting to land there<sup>7</sup>: "I invoke the land of Ireland, Free-flowing the fertile sea, Fertile the fruit-strewn mountain, Fruit-strewn the showery wood, . . . Full-watered the hill-top well, A well of peoples the assembly, An assembly of kings Tara, Tara a hill of peoples. . . ." So the Dinnsenchas of Carman tells that the Leinstermen were promised "Corn and milk for them for holding it (the triennial August fair), and freedom from attack by any province in Ireland, and true royal heroes among them and gentle women and joy in every household, and all produce like a show and nets full from the water, but decay and early greyness and young kings for them if it were not held."<sup>8</sup> But the most striking passage where this belief appears is found in the 'Instructions of Morand' (early eighth century); the judge Morand is addressing certain gnomic exhortations to good government to the king Feradach, and among them he says: "Through the justice of the ruler every land is fruitful, every birth occurs in good time. Through the justice of the ruler there is fullness of every splendid grain-crop. Through the justice of the ruler the mast of the forest tastes like sweet manna . . . Through the justice of the ruler no judicial decree is pronounced where judgement is not supported by just precedents . . . Through the justice of the ruler every art gets glory in its seat according to its efforts with the expounding of wisdom for peaceful teaching. Through the justice of the ruler good weathers come every season in sequence, namely, a good frosty winter, a dry windy spring, a dry showery summer, fruitful autumn with heavy dews. For it is the unrighteousness of a prince that brings perverse weathers (and mortalities and diseases and illnesses, *var lect.*) upon iniquitous peoples, so that the fruits of the earth are dried up. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

The poem in which Ferchertne gave his own answer to his request for a prophecy is an augury of gloom, of the degeneration which will precede the end of the world, of the signs of Doomsday and the birth of Antichrist; including the following: "The cattle of the world will be barren . . ."

<sup>4</sup> E.g., 'Black Book of Carmarthen,' f. XXVI, 9-10, *Disgogan hwimleian hwetil a diwit*, "the bird (?) foretells a prophecy which will come true."

<sup>5</sup> Ed. J. Strachan and J. G. O'Keeffe (Dublin, 1912), p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> 'Descriptio Cambriae,' I, 16.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Thurneysen, 'Irische Texte,' III, p. 35; ed.

and tr. Macalister and MacNeill, 'The Book of Conquests of Ireland,' pp. 256-7 (from a late version). Date perhaps tenth century.

<sup>8</sup> 'Révue Celtique,' XV, pp. 312 and 314.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. and tr. Thurneysen, 'Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie,' XI, p. 56 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf., Hesiod, 'Works and Days,' 225-239, etc., etc.

"Inhospitality will destroy crops, False judgements will cause fruits to fall, Sudden terrible gales, Lightning with conflagrations of trees, Leafy winter, Gloomy summer, Autumn without crops, Spring without flowers . . . False judgements will be manifested by the usurpers of the end of the world . . . Thereafter will come the signs of Antichrist's birth . . . It will be the Judgement, my son; Great Tidings, awful tidings, an evil time."

This prophecy, taken as a whole, clearly derives from the apocalyptic literature concerning the Last Times and the Day of Judgement,<sup>11</sup> particularly from the Apocalypse of Thomas<sup>12</sup> which is known to have been current in England in the ninth century and in Ireland at least as early as the tenth.<sup>13</sup> Two other prophecies similar to Ferchertne's may be mentioned. One is found in the tale 'The Second Battle of Moytura'<sup>14</sup> (ninth century, but worked over in the eleventh), where the war-goddess Badb, asked for a *scél* by the other gods, "was prophesying the end of the world and foretelling every evil that would be then and every pestilence and every vengeance, and it is then she sang the lay that follows:

"I shall see a world that will not be dear to me, Summer without flowers, Cattle will be without milk, Women without modesty, Men without valour . . . Woods without mast . . . Sea without produce . . . Perjury of judges . . . An evil time."

The other is attributed to the legendary sixth-century seer Beg mac Dé in the late tale 'The Fate of Diarmaid'.<sup>15</sup> Being asked by Diarmaid mac Cearbeoil king of Leinster what would happen to his kingdom after him, he sang:

"World evil, Men slaves, Women free, Mast empty, Woods fair, Flowers bad, Winds many, Summer wet, Corn green, Cattle abundant, Milk scant . . . Kings bad, Faith bad, Wounding habitual."

and then prophesied to Diarmaid the kings who would reign after him.<sup>16</sup> These two auguries of the 'evil world,' themselves evidently antiquarian productions, must also derive from the apocalyptic source; and the Welsh prophecies of Merlin in the 'Black Book of Carmarthen' (? twelfth century), among their political predictions have the following lines which perhaps belong to the same group: "We shall have years and long days and an unjust lord and fruits will rot." "There will be trouble, alas for its coming and it will come; Girls crop-haired and women wanton, And kinsmen will not honour their kin." "Women without modesty, men without valour," exactly the same phrase as in the Irish prophecy of Badb.<sup>17</sup>

It seems, then, that there is here a curious anomaly. The pagan seer Ferchertne, the pagan goddess Badb, and the druid Beg, are made to prophesy the Christian Doomsday in language apparently borrowed from Christian texts; this is particularly strange in the case of Ferchertne, since the compiler of the Colloquy was purposely collecting or forging poems which belonged to the pagan tradition. Further, the style in which they are cast belongs essentially to the native Irish poetic art of the *filidh*,<sup>18</sup> and the normal Irish versions of the apocalyptic End of the World theme as composed by those most interested in it, the clerics, are considerably different in style—they are in the syllabic metres or in prose and lay more stress on the religious side of the matter, on Hell and the Judgement Day.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>11</sup> As Dr. Robin Flower kindly points out.

<sup>12</sup> Tr. in M. R. James, 'The Apocryphal New Testament' (Oxford, 1924), p. 555 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Flower, 'Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum,' vol. II, p. 501-2; and Seymour, *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, XXXVII, C. 107-17, 'Notes on Apocrypha in Ireland.'

<sup>14</sup> Ed. and tr. Wh. Stokes, 'Révue Celtique,' XII, p. 52 ff; partic. §166.

<sup>15</sup> Ed. S. H. O'Grady, 'Silva Gadelica,' vol. I, p. 72 ff, tr. *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 76 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Also in *Brit. Mus. MS. Addl.* 30512 f. 34, where it omits the prediction of the kings.

<sup>17</sup> 'Black Book of Carmarthen,' f. XXVIII, 11-12, f. XXXI, 6-8, and f. XXXIb, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. for its use in a charm the well known fish-spell of Amaigen, ed. and tr. Macalister and MacNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 266 ff., and the poem 'I am a wind on the sea,' etc., *ibid.*, p. 262 ff.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., Poem on the end of the world, ed. Thurneysen, 'Zeitschr. f. Celt. Philologie,' VIII, p. 195; another on same, ed. and tr. J. G. O'Keeffe, 'Eriu,' III, p. 29 ff; poems on the days before doomsday, ed. Stokes, 'Saltair na Rann' (Oxford, 1883) Nos. CLIII-CLXII; 'Tidings of Doomsday,' ed. and tr. Stokes, 'Rév. Celt.', IV, p. 245 ff. Cf. in Welsh, poem on Doomsday in Book of Taliessin (tr. Skene, 'Four Ancient Books of Wales,' vol. I, p. 552 ff.) which like the preceding shows the influence of Matthew xxv.



Hence it seems a probable suggestion that there has been a conflation; the antiquarian writers may have known of a tradition that the *filidh* made prophetic chants about infertility and degeneration for the world, contrasting with those which like Nédé's foretold fertility and prosperity, but being perhaps ignorant of more than their general outline they may have filled them up as it were from contemporary apocalyptic Christian predictions about Doomsday. This would explain the anomaly of those elements appearing in the Colloquy of the Two Sages; the compiler could have no reason to introduce such a prophecy unless he believed that the *filidh* were accustomed to chant gloomy predictions about the future state of crops and men. That it was believed in the eleventh century that the druids used to prognosticate weather and prosperous seasons is shown by a passage in the additions to the Irish Nennius (ed. Todd, Dublin, 1848; see pp. 144-5), which states that they practised the art of "choice of weather, prosperous times" as well as the interpretation of sneezes, the cry of birds, and other omens. Some such a belief may have been stronger and better founded when the Colloquy was written.

We may perhaps conclude that the primitive faith in the interrelation of human and natural prosperity and the reverse and in the effect of good or bad government upon fertility and morals, was held in early Ireland, and that the seers when asked for 'tidings' would express these things in prophetic chants, foretelling good or bad as their inspiration moved them; or that such at least was the belief of antiquarian writers in the ninth century.

KENNETH JACKSON.

### Nigeria: Pottery.

Brief Notes on Pottery at Abuja and Kuta, Niger Province. By W. E. Nicholson.

Nicholson.

#### 88 A. Abuja.

(i) Abuja is a small Emirate founded by the refugee rulers of Zaria c. 1807, in Koro and Gwari country (*vide* Hogben, 'Muhammedan Emirates of Nigeria,' p. 136). (ii) Operator, a Nupe woman settled in Abuja. (iii) Article made is a small water jug (Hausa—*Buta*, or in Sokoto dialect, *Shantali*) used principally for ablutionary purposes. (Fig. 1, about 7 ins. high).



FIG. 1. About 7 inches high.



FIG. 2.

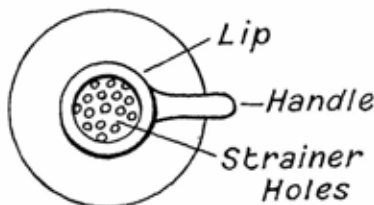
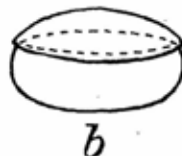


FIG. 3.

(iv) Clay, apparently unlevigated. (v) Lump of moistened clay placed in palm of left hand and pressed out into hollow shape with right. (vi) Then placed on a 'crock,' set against right knee (operator sitting on floor), revolved with left hand while right hand presses and scrapes it out thinner with help of disc of broken calabash about 3 inches across, and very slightly concave, until it assumes the shape of a small but deep bowl (Fig. 2 a). (vii) A saucer-shaped cover is made similarly, but without the use of the piece of calabash, and placed on the top of the bowl (Fig. 2 b). (viii) The overlapping edge of the saucer is pressed down on to the bowl with the thumb until the internal air space is completely enclosed. (ix) The vessel is left to dry. (x) Neck and handle are added and several holes bored in the original vessel inside the neck, giving a 'strainer' effect (Fig. 3).

(xi) The vessels are washed with red earth and polished with a smooth pebble (? of quartzite). (xii) A decoration of chevrons is impressed on the exterior by means of a small wooden roller or 'roulette.' The roulettes are made by Gwaris and may be purchased for ½d. (xiii) The completed vessels are fired in an open fire; fuel principally grass.

#### B. Kuta.

(i) Kuta is a town of the Gwari tribe; it was raided, but never, I think, subdued by Muhammedans. (ii) The actual operators are Gwari women, but men carve the small wooden 'roulettes'

for imprinting patterns. (iii) The clay is collected by themselves. It is prepared by pounding with a pestle in a mortar. There is no levigation. [I saw wood ash about the place of manufacture; it must be used, I think, to prevent the clay 'sticking.'] (iv) A ball of clay is placed on a crock on the top of a suitable out-cropping stone. The operator digs her fingers into the middle to make a deep concavity and the clay is turned slowly round (crock and all) with one hand, while it is worked into shape with the other. (v) To clean up the inside the operator uses the edge of a small piece of calabash (roughly square in shape) cf. Abuja above.

In the case of big pots a piece of hoop iron is used instead of calabash. Then a piece of native cloth, wetted, is rubbed round to finish off, just as the Sokoto potters employ a piece of leather (MAN 1929, 34). (vi) The pot is left to get half-dry and then trimmed with the edge of a narrow, flat piece of split bamboo. (vii) The pot may be washed or not with red earth. (viii) Polishing is done with a smooth pebble and the pot is left to dry. (ix) Decorations are either—(a) incised with the end of a stalk of grass; or (b) imprinted by rolling wooden dies (roulettes) over the surface while the clay is wet. These are of various patterns—mostly chevrons. (x) The pots are fired in an open fire; they are piled on split wood and then covered with grass. Firing takes place about 4 p.m. and is continued for two hours or so. (xi) If the pot had not previously been red-washed, it is washed while still hot from the fire with an infusion of locust-bean pods. A similar process is employed in Bida (Nupe) to make pots black or very dark brown. This preparation (Hausa—*Makuba*) of the pods of the locust-bean (Hausa—*Dorowa*) is in general use in Northern Nigeria to harden mud floors and walls.

W. E. NICHOLSON.

### Nigeria: Pottery.

Nicholson.

Bida (Nupe) Pottery. By W. E. Nicholson.

These notes refer to one only of the groups of potters in Bida, Niger Province, and the actual workers observed belong to Augi's house in the Quarter of Natsu. 89

I. *Workers*.—All the operators are women. The family came originally from Sokoto, but the mother of the present potters is said to have learnt the trade from a Yoruba woman, i.e., the technique may be Yoruba or Nupe in origin. All are Mohammedans, so that the survival of tabus, etc., in the craft is not to be expected, and no trace of them was found.

Two varieties of article are made:—

- (i) Small water jug, chiefly used for ablutionary purposes, called in Nupe *Masuge* (equivalent to the Hausa *Buta* or *Shantali*—MAN, 1929, 34).
- (ii) A larger water-container called in Nupe *Dukū-nyetā* (equivalent to the Hausa *Pukunya*—MAN 1931, 186).

The following notes refer to the former only of these.

II. *Preparation of the Clay*.—Suitable clay is found in the swamps of the Gbako river at Badeggi, about 10 miles east of Bida. Itinerant vendors from this village bring it round for sale, and it costs about 10d. per cwt. During part of the rainy season floods prevent its collection. The clay is pounded to powder in a wooden mortar identical with that used in the preparation of food. It is levigated—

- (i) Usually by the addition of powdered potsherds; this powder is sifted before being added to the clay, through a sieve made of slivers of bamboo.
- (ii) Sometimes native bricks of sun-dried mud are burnt and powdered and used instead of potsherds.

After the addition of the levigating material the clay is wetted until it attains the right consistency.

III. *Building of the Pot*.—(a) Old cloths are spread on the ground and the operator places in front of herself a flat sand-stone slab about 1 inch thick; it is said that these stones are purchased from the Bead-makers and that they come from further south in Ilorin country; they are 'natural,' i.e., pieces of stratified rock which splits into suitable thicknesses; the slab is well dusted with powdered potsherds to prevent sticking. A ball of clay (a (i)) is placed on the slab, manipulated into a 'pancake' (a (ii)) and beaten out thin with a stone hand-beater; any

suitable piece of the local sandstone or ironstone which may be found is used as beater without artificial shaping.

(b) when the pancake becomes sufficiently thin it is placed on the bottom of a small inverted pot and beaten again with the hand-beater to make it slightly convex.

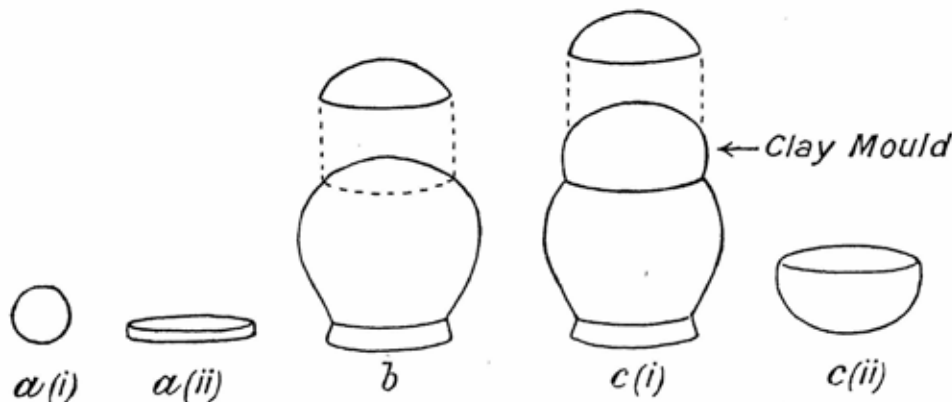


FIG. 1. STAGES A-C IN THE BUILDING OF THE POT.

(c) A clay mould is then placed upon the inverted pot and the clay beaten over this until it is shaped like an inverted bowl (c (i)).

It is then removed, turned over and put on one side to dry (c (ii)), and is eventually used as one half of the finished article.

(d) Processes (a), (b) and (c) are repeated and a second bowl identical in size with the first is made to form the second half. When both halves have been allowed to harden a little, one is inverted

and superimposed on the other so that the edges coincide. The operator cements the two halves together by smearing clay round the line of junction so that a hollow ball, like a flattened sphere, is produced without any orifice.

(e) A small hole, 2 inches in diameter, is cut in the centre of the top with an iron knife.

(f) To put the mouth on the pot, the operator takes a thin roll of clay and fits it to the edge of the hole by manipulation with the right hand while the pot is rotated by the left. The lip is shaped between the thumb and

finger of the right hand and polished with a wetted rag.

(g) A thin roll of clay is then kneaded on to the pot to form a shoulder and the polishing with the wet rag continued.

(h) One or two handles are now attached; the operator takes a roll of clay of suitable length, attaches it first to the body of the pot, gives it an outward curve and attaches the other end to the mouth.

(j) The exterior of the pot is polished by rubbing with a smooth, water-worn pebble (? of quartzite) and a piece of wetted rag.

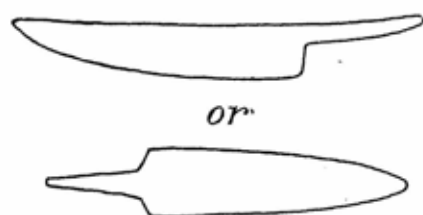


FIG. 2.

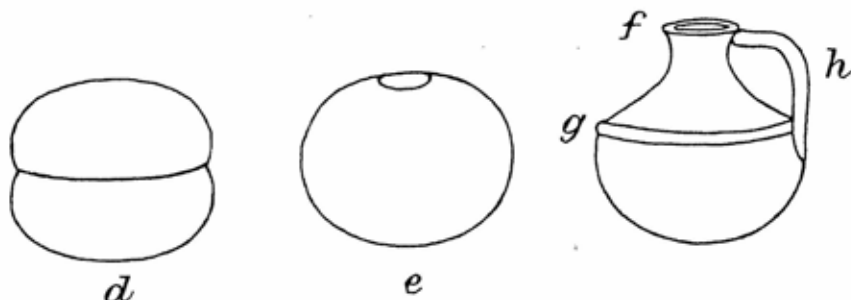


FIG. 3. STAGES d-h IN THE BUILDING OF THE POT.

(k) Various decorations—all incised or stamped—are added :—

(i) By rocking and advancing a mussel shell held in the right hand, a 'compressed' chevron effect is produced (Fig. 4). The shell is 'rocked' on its rounded edge, and moved simultaneously in a direction at right angles to the plane of that edge.



FIG. 4. COMPRESSED CHEVRON.



FIG. 5. WIDE CHEVRON.

(ii) A wide chevron is incised with the edge or point of a cowry shell (Fig. 5).

(iii) The sharp end of a (? snail) shell, the shape of a whelk shell, is used as a die to imprint a series of small holes or circles.

(l) The pot is left to dry for 2 nights and 1 day (in the sun) and is then ready for firing. No wash is used before firing.

IV. *Firing of the Pot.*—A small circular kiln of mud is used, about 3 feet high, without a roof. There is an aperture at the bottom on one side for the insertion of fuel. On the inside of the kiln, above the top of the aperture, three or four protuberances are made in the mud wall, jutting out into the interior of the kiln. These act as brackets upon which a large crock rests.

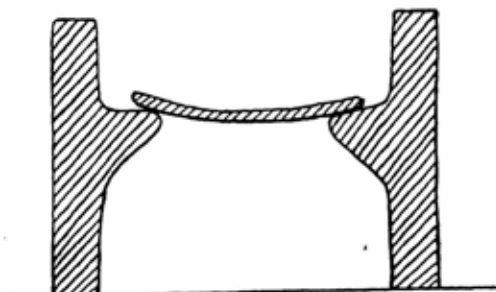


FIG. 6. CROSS SECTION OF THE KILN.

On the top of this crock the pots are piled and covered over with more crocks. A very small wood fire is lighted underneath. When the pots become black with smoke more wood is added, and the fire is allowed to burn fiercely for about an hour.

V. *Colouring of the Pot.*—

(i) Red.—If the pot is to be red it is now finished.

(ii) Brown.—In some cases a brown wash (I think of reddish earth) is used.

(iii) Black.—Some pots are blackened by the

following process. Bark of the shea-nut tree is placed in a bowl of hot water, and then brought to the boil; pods of the locust-bean are added. In this decoction the pots are dipped while still hot from the firing; they are allowed to cool, placed in the ashes of the fire, and re-dipped when hot; the process is repeated about three times and the pot becomes finally almost coal-black.

The price of the finished product is about  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. each. There are a few variations in style :—

(i) Square shape instead of round. (ii) Number of handles varies. (iii) Larger sizes are made.

W. E. NICHOLSON.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

*Primitive Water-transport in India and the Adjacent Countries. Summary of a Communication presented by James Hornell, 10 April, 1934.*

The more primitive of the craft used on inland waters in Southern Asia were passed in review. In India these are more varied both in fundamental design and varietal form than in any other country, a fact correlated with the heterogeneous racial character of the population. The melting pot has worked very imperfectly, primarily because of the introduction of the caste system; this imperfect amalgamation is exemplified in the diversity of the small craft of the rivers.

The coracle has a surprisingly wide distribution in Asia, extending from Iraq to China, from Tibet to Southern India. Inflated skins and various substitutes are also widely used throughout the same area; they appear to be equally ancient and have, with coracles, an authenticated lineage reaching back to the early part of the first millennium B.C.

The wide distribution of skin-covered water-transport, which extends throughout the whole world except in Oceania and the greater part of Africa, together with the great diversity of form

exhibited, raise very difficult problems; chief of these is the extent to which diffusion and independent invention have been responsible respectively for the facts as we find them.

The antiquity of hide-covered water-craft is probably prior in time in many regions to that of the dugout, though not older than reed-rafts. The necessary materials are or were available everywhere and can be prepared with the rudest and simplest of tools and a minimum of exertion, as compared with the dugout, which requires for its construction a tree-trunk of considerable length and girth, sharp-edged tools for its shaping, and a capacity for patient and sustained labour.

The Eskimo *umiak* appears to be a development of the circular coracle and so to antedate the *kayak*, which has probably evolved through cultural contact with a people using plank-built boats.

**Observations on the Cultural History of New Caledonia and the New Hebrides.** *Summary of a Communication presented by Professor Dr. Felix Speiser, Honorary Fellow, 24 April, 1934.*

**91** An analysis of the culture of New Caledonia shows that it consists of at least two elements: a primitive patriarchal culture, which New Caledonia has in common with the Southern New Hebrides, and which is distinguished by the possession of circumcision, the *nambas* penis-wrapper, the fringe-skirt, and the absence of all ceremonial-implements as masks and statues; altogether a very poor ceremonial life.

Into this culture must have come, to the north of New Caledonia, a very powerful influence, bringing all the elements which New Caledonia possesses more than the Southern New Hebrides; masks, statues, matriarchal organization, and others. This immigration must have come from New Guinea, probably from the region of the Sepik River, and it has reached, in some of its elements only, some of the Southern New Hebrides.

The characteristic elements of the primitive culture (circumcision, etc.) are also found in some of the central islands of the New Hebrides, and if we try to find the origin of that primitive culture, we must realize that it is not an independent culture, but consists of a few elements only—circumcision, the fringe-skirt of the women, etc.—which must have come to the Central New Hebrides from the south-coast of New Britain. The circumcision, penetrating into a region where both sexes go nude, has caused the invention of the *nambas*, which, with some other elements, has spread southwards to the Southern New Hebrides and New Caledonia. After this, all cultural connection between the New Hebrides and New Caledonia was interrupted.

If we try to establish the culture into which this *nambas*-complex has penetrated, we touch what is probably the oldest stratum of culture in Eastern Melanesia, and the cultural elements of this stratum can only be established approximately.

The *nambas*-region of the Central New Hebrides is much richer than that of the southern islands, and if we look for the origin of the most characteristic elements of that "northern *nambas*-culture"—the head-deformation, the deformation of the boars-tusks, the ceremonial killing of these boars—we are directed to Arue, a region on the south coast of New Britain; and the ritual killing of the boars and deformation of the boars tusks are only found again in Nias, off Sumatra. We therefore have to reckon with a direct influence from Nias to Arue and from thence to the central New Hebrides.

But some other elements must have come directly to the New Hebrides from Nias. The ritual pig-killing, an aristocratic privilege in Nias and Arue, has become accessible to all men in the New Hebrides, where influences from New Guinea, bringing an elaborate ceremonial of initiation and of secret societies, have fused with the ritual of pig-killing and thus have given rise to the *suqe* or *menggi*. The *menggi* has rapidly spread all over the Northern New Hebrides and Banks Islands, but has not reached the Southern New Hebrides. But the other elements of the primitive *nambas*-culture have not followed the spread of the *menggi*. The fundamental culture of the other islands of the New Hebrides is different from the *nambas*-culture and has suffered strong influences, coming from the north through the Solomon Islands, some of which have also penetrated into the *nambas*-region, where therefore is the meeting-point of very powerful cultural streams. The cultural wave which brought the elements from New Guinea to the Central New Hebrides may have been the same which brought the new elements to New Caledonia.

The origin of the lithographs and other lithic elements in New Caledonia and elsewhere cannot be accounted for, so far.



## REVIEWS.

**An African People in the Twentieth Century.**

By L. P. Mair. London: George Routledge & Sons, 1934. 300 pp. 12s. 6d.

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This work may be described as a comparative study of the people of Baganda Province in the Uganda Protectorate and is stated to be the outcome of nine months' work on the spot. The author's main object was to compare the old with the new, describing such ancient customs as have survived and examining the extent to which native life has been modified by contact with European influences.

The author is a pupil of Prof. Malinowski and owes much to the scheme of approach which the latter evolved in connection with certain native communities in the South Seas.

Successful inquiry on these lines asks for much from the European investigator and it is not easy for everyone to undergo many months of such close contact with native life as its prosecution entails.

The writer has for long urged that greater efforts should be made to bring anthropology more into the picture as regards the actual administration of native races and to abolish what may be called the "Secretariat" idea that it is an interesting hobby, but of little practical application; such work as we have before us may help to that end, if it is studied by those concerned.

A high official of the African service was heard to remark recently, "How nice it must be for my officers to find these bright young persons coming out to teach them how to run their job." This is a view which may be reasonably expected from officers who have devoted many years to native administration. Nor can one believe that the reaction of the great missionary organizations would be much different. Lastly, there is little doubt that some of 'the elder brethren' in the academic sphere of anthropology have yet to realize the importance of applying the results of systematic investigation to everyday life. Nevertheless, there is much in Dr. Mair's book which invites serious reflection by all who are responsible for the social development of these people, she refrains from being too dogmatic and the value of her work is enhanced by its dispassionate presentation.

The Baganda people may be roughly described as a tribe of normal Bantu type upon which was superimposed a dominant Hamitic culture which has produced a system of Government, feudal in character. It is a remarkable example of a change produced by conquest and is especially noteworthy inasmuch as practically no trace of the language of the conquerors survives in Luganda to-day. Our knowledge of the Baganda before European influences became marked, owes much to the research work of the late John Roscoe, whose accuracy of observation, although occasionally challenged by the present author, is beyond doubt, and his knowledge of the language was, it is suggested, almost certainly more extensive than even that of one whose visit only extended to a few months.

Some twenty years have elapsed, however, since the bulk of his work was completed; great changes have taken place, new interpretations of the meaning of various customs and rites have come into being and methods of inquiry have improved; further, it is possible that the revolting features of some of the barbaric features of the political organization at that time may have aroused a distaste which caused him, as a devout missionary, occasionally to take a somewhat one-sided view; for all that we owe a great debt to this devoted student.

Perhaps the most remarkable fact which one can gather from Dr. Mair's survey is that European influences have had so little effect on the actual life of the people. Money has come in and superseded the earlier medium of exchange—the cowrie to wit, and even the cowrie cannot go back in this capacity much more than 100 years; the old virtue of generosity which was such a striking feature in Uganda is on the decline; it was probably a product of the feudal system. The greatest disintegrating factor has, however, probably been mission influence, invariably well meant, but at the same time intolerant of and destructive to native traditional beliefs. As all who have lived in the country are aware, the Uganda agreement of 1900, launched with such good intentions, was an egregious error and it has incited the cupidity of the chiefs to an inordinate extent. The worst features arising from it have, however, now been remedied and twenty-five years hence the whole matter will be as remote as the mythical ancestor.

The author discusses the question of religion and lays down the dictum that no African society can exist without religion, and that as the indigenous religion has been irreparably damaged by the impact of external forces something must be found to take its place. This she states can only be Christianity, but must it be a Christianity identical with that of Europe? She goes on to plead for a disentanglement of the ethical principles from the dogma and for the use of the ethics in such a way as to confirm and strengthen the structure of native life. Many of those who have worked in Africa will be in accord with this wish, but the two great sections of Western Christianity are so entrenched in their attitude towards dogma that any concession on this point is, we fear, hopeless to expect.

The concluding chapter of this work contains many pregnant suggestions and ably sums up the conclusions arrived at during the inquiry. While reluctant to 'pad' a review with quotations, the following is considered to be apposite: "Yet one cannot help wishing that European teaching did not lay so much emphasis on the advantages to the individual of commercializing his possessions and that there was more place in it for the growth of a spirit of corporate loyalty . . . to the smaller group with which he is in constant contact in the village." This is perfectly true and all through Africa the lack of what may be called a "civic sense" is a sad deficiency.

The author is attracted by a scheme of village co-operative societies, theoretically most excellent, but if the ordinary native has to handle other people's money an impossible amount of outside supervision will be required to prevent fraud.

The question of native marriage is discussed with acumen, and it is pleasing to learn that the passing of polygamy is nowadays causing no serious difficulty; a few years ago this was not so, for the casting out of thousands of wives at mission behest had unfortunate repercussions. Few who have had actual administrative experience would urge the abolition of the bride price, for there is little doubt that it is probably the greatest factor in the cohesive stability of the community. The suggestion that civil divorce should, if approved, conclude with the public return of the bride price is one to be recommended, it would receive wide approbation from all classes of native society.

The author takes up a decided point of view with regard to elective representation and argues her case with great force. "The great and growing demands" which are sometimes lightly referred to are found to have, when analysed, their origin in a small group of mission-educated malcontents who see a chance of pecuniary gain if they can reach some position of authority.

There is much food for thought in this admirable survey, and it is confidently recommended to all who are interested in the sociological side of anthropology, as well as to administrators and missionaries.

C. W. H.

[See also, MAN, 1934, 93 below.]

### The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion.

By Sir J. G. Frazer. Macmillan, 1933. vii + 204 pp. Price 10s. 6d.

Sir James Frazer's latest volume comprises the six lectures delivered on the William Wyse Foundation at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1932-1933. Sir James demonstrates with his accustomed charm the universality of the fear of the dead, generally accompanied as it is by reverence and even by affection for them; he then goes on to examine in greater detail the powers attributed to the dead, and finally some of the steps taken to expedite the passage of the soul to the next world.

In dealing with the powers attributed to the ghosts or souls of the dead he illustrates their function as oracles, their responsibility for a number of natural phenomena, earthquakes for instance, thunder, rain, famine or disease, and equally for the natural productivity of nature, whether in the form of offspring or of the fruits of the earth. Emphasis is laid on the consistency of a belief in immortality and in the similarity of the future life to that in this world. Sir James has pointed out that the souls of the dead are commonly regarded as causing sickness or death to the survivors, and his general position is that fear outweighs love or reverence, though this fear is nevertheless "a prime source of primitive religion." It is of interest to turn from these lectures to Miss Durham's paper in the June number of 'Folklore' (1933) on 'Whence comes the Dread

' of Ghosts and Evil Spirits?' in which she argues with more than mere plausibility that the fear of the dead is really a fear of infection by disease and reinforces her contention with a sufficiency of most apt illustrations. To the instances cited by her might be added the beliefs as to disease of the Thado Kuki of Assam, for whom, as I have pointed out elsewhere (appendix G. to W. Shaw's 'Notes on the Thado Kukis,' p. 156), the terms 'evil spirit' and 'bacteria' are in effect synonymous. To the Thado all sickness is caused by spirits, and when I asked an exceptionally intelligent interpreter why, in that case, quinine should cure malaria, he replied in some surprise that it was surely obvious; Europeans had discovered with greater exactitude than Kukis what precise smell each variety of evil spirit disliked most, and hence used quinine for fever, chlorodyne for a flux, and castor oil for a pain in the stomach. It is possible that the various forms of Thado interment (*op. cit.* pp. 55n2 and 56n1) offer still further support to Miss Durham's contention. There is, however, one aspect of the case which seems to require more attention than has been given to it either by Sir James Frazer in his lectures or by Miss Durham in her paper to the Folklore Society, and that is the very frequent distinction made in primitive religion between the soul and the ghost. Sir James seems to use these two terms as if they had reference to the same conception, but it is frequently found that while the ghost is conceived of as a sort of material ectoplasm of the dead body, noxious in its activities and terrifying in aspect, and one moreover which has a comparatively short post-mortem existence, the soul is conceived of either as a comparatively innocuous shade which journeys to a land of the dead, or as a sort of material life-principle, a sort of ghostly fertilizer which is passed on to the herb or the beasts of the field and so again to man, continuing to provide in a direct and material fashion for the harvest of the crops or for the propagation of the species, by maintaining a continual circulation of life conceived of as a material substance.

This distinction is in no way inimical to Miss Durham's hypothesis, and it helps to explain some of the contradictions of fear and affection pointed out by Sir James Frazer in his lectures on 'The Fear of the Dead.'

J. H. HUTTON.

### The American Aborigines, their Origin and Antiquity. By Diamond Jenness. Toronto, (University Press), 1933. 396 pp.

This book was produced by the National Research Council of Canada for the meeting of the Fifth Pacific Science Congress in June, 1933. It contains ten chapters, each by a different author, dealing with every aspect of the problem of the American aborigines, their origin, age, and relationships. That the approaches to this problem are wide is indicated by the range of topics discussed. These include Quaternary American geology, Pleistocene vertebrates and archaeology, in their bearings on the problem, from which it is clear that many points regarding the glaciation of North America are still

unsettled, e.g., whether there were four or five phases of ice advance, with interglacial periods, and whether the vegetation and the animals survived on local areas in Eastern Canada, or even in low portions of the Arctic. These questions are important in relation to the time and the exact route by which man entered the continent.

Later chapters are devoted to racial types in America, by Hooton; ethnological diversity, by Clark Wissler; the civilizations of Central America and Mexico, by Spinden; South American origins, by Nordenskiöld; Southern Pacific contacts with America, by Dixon; and the relations between North-west America and adjacent Asia, by Boas. In the final chapter Jenness deals in masterly fashion with the problem of the Eskimo, welding contemporary knowledge of their archaeology, culture and physique into a consistent view of their origin and migrations.

The volume will serve as a most useful summary of present views and knowledge. There is remarkably little overlapping, and all authors appear to be agreed that the higher levels of civilization reached in Central and South America were autochthonous in origin. Many, however, admit the possibility of a small amount of trans-Pacific contact, but consider it to have been almost negligible as a cultural or racial influence.

In discussing the racial elements to be found on the two continents, Hooton emphasizes the great difficulty in determining from present knowledge the succession and relationships of the various types, differing in such features as skull shape, nasal and lip characters. He is inclined to introduce in explanation a degree of primitive intermixture with Negroid, Mongoloid, or Australoid stocks which could only have occurred if primitive man wandered much more indiscriminately than is generally conceded to have been the case. Another difficulty with such a view is that while the American Indians appear to have all belonged originally to the O blood group, yet the Australians have A, and the Mongols and Negroes have also B. These would have been transmitted in any cross, but the Indians have remained free from them until the hybridizations of modern times began. It is only fair to add, however, that Professor Hooton points out how speculative such comparisons are, and calls for a group of workers to produce a body of anthropometric observations which would replace hypothesis by accurate knowledge.

This authoritative presentation of the subject will be of great value to all who are interested in the origin and early history of man in America.

R. RUGGLES GATES.

**O Poveiro: usos, costumes, tradicoes, lendas.** By A. Santos Graça. Published by the author, Povôa de Varzim, 1932. 235 pp. Illustrated.

The physical type of the fishermen of Povôa de Varzim, an island off the Portuguese coast, was studied by the late Captain Fonseca Cardoso (*O Estudo Antropológico do Poveiro*, 'Portugalia' tom. 2, 1908); and in the present work Mr. Santos Graça, himself a Poveiro, adds an intimate study of the social life of the same fishing community.

The fishermen of Povôa, as peaceable, reserved and timid on shore as they are bold and noisy at sea, hold themselves aloof from their neighbours of other trades, avoid marriages and social ties outside 'the class,' and govern their economic life by 'laws and precepts' analogous to those of a guild. Unfortunately Mr. Santos Graça has given his work no geographical or demographical setting: he does not tell us the numbers of the fishing population or the proportion it bears to the general population of Varzim, nor whether a local isolation of the fishermen's quarter corresponds to the moral segregation of its inhabitants. But for these omissions, *O Poveiro* might have been a type-book for students of Human Geography, so close is the correspondence it describes between means of livelihood, social organization, and artistic expression. The work has another defect, of a kind almost inevitable in a sympathetic study by a resident observer: the state of affairs described is of no precise moment in the present or the past, but combines in a single picture the observations of most of the author's lifetime; here and there, as in the discussion of marriage customs, he admits that the organization described has now broken down.

The fishermen's 'laws and precepts' regulate the division of labour and profits, the maintenance of widows and orphans, assistance to the disabled, and the settlement of disputes at sea. The penalty for a breach of the 'laws' is public disapproval and ridicule. The sardine boats and line-fishing boats are worked on shares, the whole catch being shared according to the number of quarter-shares in the crew; but, in the deep-sea *lanchas* and the trawlers, the product of each net or trawl belongs to its owner, the fish taken being nicked with distinguishing marks. If a *lancha* has a 'company' of thirty men, they form fifteen pairs of partners, and if a man is sick or detained on shore, his partner fishes for him and marks his fish. A sick man's nets may be worked for him year after year; a widow is maintained by a half-share of her husband's nets; an orphan has the right to be apprenticed in his father's 'company' and carries to sea, from the outset, the quarter of a man's nets or share. The Blessed Virgin has her net in every *lancha* and a quarter of a man's share in every sardine boat. In fact, the proportion of sleeping partners may become a serious hindrance to the working of the smaller boats. Every *lancha* carries three or four nets 'for the drink,' and the owner and the steersman have their extra nets or shares. And there is a share for the boat herself, 'since she also goes to sea,' to cover repairs. The division of the product is made by the mistress and the men's wives, who, after deducting the special shares, and a quarter of the remainder for their husband's spending-money, divide up the rest for their household expenses; the women alone buy and sell, and they alone are responsible for the family budget.

In all the boats, the 'fathers of boys' have special duties and extra shares; they do the work of boatwains and storekeepers, and each must provide a young son on shore, the 'duty boy,' to call the crew, watch for the ship's return, and so forth.

Another class of precepts arises from the dangers of the harbour bar—the graveyard, says the author, of the fishermen of Povôa. In rough weather the first boat to cross the bar is bound to stand by, all day and all night if need be, to pilot the next boat over and to go to the rescue in case of accident. Help is given from 'company' to 'company' in the heavy task of hauling boats ashore.

Class distinctions among the fisher people are strongly marked. The *lanchoes*, owners of deep-sea *lanchas*, are

a sort of aristocracy; from them are chosen the 'Men of Respect' who settle disputes arising at sea; they employ servants, live with some refinement of dress and speech, marry among themselves or, if need be, raise their daughters' husbands to the ship-owning class. The trawlers and sardine fishers may be called the bourgeoisie, the line fishers the common people. It is not made clear whether the *lanchoes* are really a capitalist class employing members of the other classes; it seems rather that the crews are made up of family connections, of the same social class as the owners.

There are several complicated systems of ownership marks, amounting almost to a local script. Of these the most interesting is the system of *marcas*, used to register family property in masts, sails, oars, windlasses, house furniture . . . The head of the family uses the *marca*—say, a Solomon's Seal—alone, but the sons 'with a difference'; the eldest adding one 'pike,' the second two pikes, and so on, down to the youngest son who carries the *marca* without marks of difference, as being his father's heir. As the 'pikes' are arranged in stars, crosses, and gratings, they give rise to fresh *marcas*, to which fresh pikes can be added to mark seniority, in the next generation. So exact is the system, that Mr. Santos Graça was able to check his genealogies by the evidence of the *marcas*.

With these marks the fishermen register their marriages on the sacrificial table, and their pilgrimages by cutting them on church doors. Yet, though in practice the marks are associated with families and persons, in the last resort they are considered to belong to the ships, with which the families are so closely identified; and, in the rare case of a ship being sold to another family, the set of marks will be transferred with her.

Two interesting chapters deal with the delimitation of the deep-sea fishing grounds, and with the family nicknaming which almost supersedes the use of surnames. The house, the nets and the fishing apparatus are described in some detail, the boats themselves very inadequately. There is also a certain amount of 'folk-lore' in the narrower sense. The local theory of 'open bodies'—sensitives, natural mediums—into whom spirits can enter is worth noting. BARBARA AITKEN.

**Histoire de L'Île Oparo ou Rapa.** By A.-C. Eugène Caillot. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1932. 85 pp.

**96** This little volume is the result of M. Caillot's visit to Rapa in November, 1912. There he found a small, unimpressive population numbering just over 200, evidently having suffered severely from the effects of contact with European civilization, and rapidly forgetting their old beliefs and institutions. The author has managed to rescue a certain amount of this material, though by precisely what means, from native manuscripts or personal collection, in the vernacular or through interpreters he does not say. The account on the whole is slight, and has its interest rather from its place in the series of Caillot's useful contributions to Polynesian ethnology than from its intrinsic merit. The matter on social organization is fragmentary, presenting wide gaps, as in the record of family life which the author could have easily filled from his own personal observation. His picture of the life of children, left to their own devices by their relatives soon after they can walk, distinguishing themselves by continual disobedience, is not documented in any way, and seems superficial; it is difficult also to believe that the state of the women is so miserable as represented. Here, as elsewhere, there are inconsistencies in the description—as despite the fact that the woman is said to be inferior to the man, it is she who usually takes the

initiative in changing lovers. The account of marriage regulation is also exceedingly summary.

The data on the former religious beliefs of the people are welcome. These appear to be in accord with general Polynesian ideas, as the mention of Maui drawing up Avahiki from the bottom of the sea, or insulting Hina, who thereupon turned day into night, and of Tiki as the first man, though the statement that he was created out of mud suggests Christian influence. Though 'Ocean' is stated to be the premier personal god his native name is not given and it is not indicated if, as one might think, he is the same as Tangaroa to whom is attributed the creation of fish.

The book concludes with an account of the traditional and recent history of the island, and an appendix on one of the remarkable native forts.

RAYMOND FIRTH.

## ARCHÆOLOGY.

**Tell Halaf.** By Baron Max von Oppenheim. London: Putnam, 1933. 327 pp., pls. lxxv. Price 21s.

**97** The publication of an English version of von Oppenheim's popular account of his discovery of Tell Halaf in 1899 and of his excavations in 1911-13 is happily timed; it coincides with Dr. Mallowan's demonstration of the high antiquity and supreme historical significance of the culture typified by the beautiful painted pottery, first recognized at this site and now named after it. Four clear half-tone plates and two fine plates in colour give an adequate idea of the graceful shapes and masterly decoration of this painted ware to the technical description of which an appendix by the late Hubert Schmidt is devoted. Above the layers yielding 'Tell Halaf pottery,' the Baron found a 'temple-palace' assigned to the twelfth century B.C. and erected by a dynasty of Aramean princes. It was decorated with a large number of very remarkable and well-preserved sculptures. Though some were captured in the war and transported to the British Museum, the majority reached Berlin, where, together with casts, they have been re-erected as they were originally found in the Tell Halaf Museum, one of the most original and instructive museums in Europe. In the book the sculptures are well illustrated and clearly described. Professor Herzfeld's attribution of them on 'stylistic grounds' to the fourth and third millennia as set forth in an appendix is, to say the least, highly speculative and controversial, and one is inclined to regret that the author of a book directed to the general public should have accepted such a chronology without reserve.

V. G. C.

**Early Civilization in Thessaly.** By H. D. Hansen. Baltimore, 1933: Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Archaeology, No. 15. 203 pp.

**98** Knowledge of the archaeology both of Greece itself and of the adjoining regions has been enormously deepened and extended since Tsountas, Wace and Thompson published their pioneer studies of the prehistoric cultures of Thessaly. Such enlargement of the background provides an adequate excuse for the re-examination of the Thessalian material undertaken by Dr. Hansen. The authoress competently recapitulates the original publications relating to Thessaly, and a number of post-war contributions to the study of Balkan and Central European prehistory. But she never ventures beyond her restricted range of sources. The Thessalian material, for instance, is treated from precisely the same standpoint as by the original authors. But many objects duly described by the latter have assumed greater importance than could be assigned to them in a pioneer publication. In a book like this we expect a



change of emphasis with a view to giving such objects their due prominence. Yet the stamps from the First Period are not even illustrated (nor is Matz, *Die frühkretische Siegel* cited). The perforated antler hafts or picks from the second period are only incidentally mentioned and figured, very much reduced, side by side with small bone tools that are reproduced nearly full size. Lianokladhi geometric ware is still described under the Iron Age. I hardly feel that Dr. Hansen has made the best use of her opportunity.

V. G. CHILDE.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

**Riddles of the Gobi Desert.** By Sven Hedin. London, 1933. 8vo, x + 382 pp. With 24 plates and a map. Price 18s. net.

The Gobi Desert puts many riddles to the traveller, but none of them are answered here. Most explorers keep detailed diaries; a lucky few find a publisher for them. Dr. Sven Hedin seems to have drawn also on those of his numerous colleagues. At all events, chapters entitled 'Norin's Researches,' Bergman's Archaeological 'Researches' and the like, contain the same sort of chit-chat about governors, banquets, and passport troubles, and practically nothing about these travellers' work. Bergman, however (p. 298), noted, among other things, a tombstone with incised figures of animals, 'an extraordinarily important find,' and also 'a fine rock carving.' At last on p. 376 comes the entry: 'Ink finished.' But there was enough left for an index, mostly of proper names, but with a few entries like 'Arab conquests,' 'Camel, efforts to rescue,' 'Sarts.' The photographs are well done, and there is a convenient German map.

J. L. M.

**India House Library Catalogue.** London, 1933: From the Office of the High Commissioner for India. 9½ x 7½ in. 533 pp. Price 5s.

The main purpose of this Library is to stock Government publications on matters connected with India for the benefit of all accredited persons who may wish to use it for reference.

In the new Catalogue the Dewey-Decimal system of classification has been adopted, with admirable results, both as regards the immense mass of official information which is available and the very considerable number of books published unofficially. It is clear that cross-references have received careful consideration. Printing is excellent and the Catalogue forms a valuable addition to any reference library.

E. H. H.

#### POLYNESIA: LINGUISTICS.

**Université de Paris. Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, XVIII.** Mgr. René Hildebrand Dordillon. Dictionnaire de la Langue des Îles Marquises. Français-Marquisien. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 191, Rue St. Jacques. 1932.

The usefulness of the first part of Mgr. Dordillon's 'Marquesan Dictionary' was hampered by the absence of a French-Marquesan index. (See MAN, 1933, 22.) This want is supplied by the present volume. It contains a larger number of words than those of the 'Marquesan Dictionary,' published thirty years ago, and also a much larger number of illustrative sentences. Like the Marquesan-French volume of 1931, the present work is, as indicated in the preface, mainly of value as a historical record. "Ni les méthodes que pratiquaient l'auteur, ni le but qu'il poursuivait n'appartenaient à une linguistique moderne." "Le tableau qu'il dresse de la langue est celui qui était nécessaire à l'évangéliste."

"Il donne l'idée que Monseigneur Dordillon se faisait du dialecte dans lequel il parlait et désirait qu'on parlât à ses missionnaires dans les années 1860 à 1888."

S. H. R.

**Volkskundliche Bibliographie für das Jahr 1928.** E. Hoffmann-Krayer, edited by P. Geiger. Berlin and Leipzig, 1933: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 9 x 6 in. 304 pp. (cf. MAN, 1934, 17).

It is a pleasure to note a further volume of this valuable series. There are slightly fewer entries than in that for 1927 (4,171 against 4,764), due, the editor states, to more rigorous selection, and the list of periodicals will in future be published only for alternate years. This does not affect the efficiency of the book, which is indispensable, and only the high cost of the series will prevent its purchase by every student of the subject.

H. C. L.

**Modern Samoa, Its Government & Changing Life.** By Felix M. Keesing. London: Allen & Unwin, 1934. 8½ x 5½. 506 pp. Price 16s.

The Mandate system has done something to stimulate a world interest in the question of native administration, its responsibilities and difficulties, and perhaps no Mandate has attracted wider attention in this respect than New Zealand in its administration of Samoa. We have heard much on the one hand of the efforts of a zealous and conscientious government to be true to the spirit of its mandate, and on the other of native aspirations continually thwarted and misunderstood. The Mau movement and its propagandists have finally succeeded in bringing to Samoa something like notoriety, and the rights and wrongs of the case have been discussed with great heat, if little understanding.

Being detached from any partiality Dr. Keesing has been able to subject the situation to an acute and exhaustive analysis. Throughout the book we are kept in touch with native life as it was, with the manifold new influences acting upon it, and with the reactions to these influences—in short, with that elusive, changing thing, native life as it is. Recognising the importance of the time perspective he has devoted a long historical chapter to the varied attempts of the successive governments to adapt or to over-ride the political system of Samoa, and makes all too clear the difficulty and delicacy of the problem. A number of more specific questions—justice, land tenure, labour, hygiene, missions, education, etc.—are treated in successive chapters; but it is felt throughout that they are all inter-related and united, being viewed against a common background of culture and as aspects of the one manifold task of government.

An earlier generation of anthropologists would have regarded this book as rather off their beat. "From the anthropologist's point of view," wrote Tylor in his preface to Turner's *Samoa*, "the interest of Polynesian life belongs especially to the native period," indeed to the "peculiar barbaric condition" in which Capt. Cook had found the islanders. But now it will be recognised that such a study as Dr. Keesing's has a special interest to anthropology in that it deals with culture on the move. The data indeed are more than ever difficult to deal with. Gone is the apparently balanced, stable culture, that peaceful scene where all things are supposed to have worked together for good in a theoretical whole. It may be that the peacefulness and harmony of the old culture have been over-emphasized by anthropologists, but whether that be the case or no, there is little of them left in the culture of the present day. Amid a multitude of new factors



we find mostly change, disintegration, conflict, coalescence—a highly unsettled field for the investigator to work in. And yet, if anthropology is to be of practical value, it is especially this subject of culture-contact which we must study, not shirking its difficulties.

Dr. Keesing has succeeded in maintaining an admirably judicial attitude. He has not only studied the people at first hand but has read widely on his subject, and he quotes from his authorities frequently, aptly, and impartially—though here and there we may gratefully detect a shade of satire. And he invariably puts both sides of the question; in Samoa every question has most emphatically two sides. Indeed the conscientious reader will almost quail at the frequency of such phrases as, "But there is another side to the picture"; and if there is any criticism to offer it is that this book is almost embarrassing in its fullness. We do not suggest that the author should have neglected either side, but he might perhaps have put them both a little more selectively and tersely.

His insistence on impartiality and objectivity however does not prevent Dr. Keesing from essaying some practical suggestions: in particular we may note his advice on possible lines of political reorganisation, and his highly sensible summing up on native education.

In regard to the fundamental issue—if it can be regarded as such—between Western and native cultures, Dr. Keesing is happily free from undue conservative bias. He recommends the "intermediate and evolutionary path"; and he is surely right when, summing up his chapter on Education Influences, he predicts that "... the new Samoan, whether produced through the school or in spite of the school, will be no slavish imitation of a white man, and Samoan life will emerge as a progressive fusion of old and new, for the lesson of history seems to be that human culture works that way."

In his last few pages the author dwells on the futility of attempting to lay down the course of change too strictly. Much of the future rests upon the native's choice, and the results of our best endeavours are largely unpredictable, for the problem is so complex and as yet we do not know enough. But those who are practically interested in native welfare will not give up the idea that they can be of service; and if knowledge and understanding are the key to their problem they will assuredly be grateful to the writer of this book for the depth and thoroughness with which he has analysed a typical case of culture-contact.

F. E. W.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### African Tribal Titles in "The African People in the Twentieth Century": see MAN, 1934, 92, above.

**104** SIR,—I cannot help wondering whether Dr. Mair may not have missed an important point in her footnote on p. 34 of her book.

"The word *enda*, of which I never got a satisfactory definition, appears to describe such a group"—i.e., 'the immediate relatives' of each individual.—Bishop Kitching and Canon Blackledge, in their *Luganda-English Dictionary*, define *enda* as 'womb'; and the word occurs with this and similar meanings in many Bantu languages: Konjo, Gishu, Nyamwezi, Zigula, to name no others. In Swahili, while obsolete in the original concrete sense, it survives in the adverbial locative *nda-ni* 'within'.

Is it not possible that the Luganda use of the word may be the relic of a primitive matrilineal organization and have signified 'all the descendants of one mother'? This may have been the system followed by the Bantu-speaking inhabitants of Uganda, till it was superseded by that of the patrilineal Hamitic immigrants from the north. A parallel case is that adduced by Mr. Cullen Young, of the Kamanga and the incoming Angoni.

A. WERNER.

### The so-called Cart-ruts of Malta.

**105** SIR,—During a recent visit to Malta and Gozo, I inspected many of the localities where those curious parallel ruts exist in the surface rock which have been described as cart-tracks or ruts. I arrived at the conclusion that it is most unlikely that they were formed by wheeled traffic as has been suggested, and sledges are out of the question owing to the short radius of some of the curves.

Lately, when working over my notes, it occurred to me that the peculiar characteristics of the ruts are all explainable by reference to traffic carried on slide-cars of the form still used in some districts in Ireland, and until comparatively recently in both Scotland and Wales. This vehicle, the slide-car, consists typically of two parallel poles set a few feet apart, connected by

cross-bars upon which is fitted some form of receptacle, basket or box, to carry the load. An animal, possibly a camel in this instance, is harnessed between the front ends of the shafts, whilst the other ends, inclined downwards, rest upon the ground.

With a view to illustrate and explain this hypothesis, I sought permission from the Commanding Officer of the Royal Air Force in Malta to use certain of the aerial photographs which have been taken of the areas traversed by these ruts. In reply, my attention was directed to an article which appeared in the *Malta Chronicle* of 6th January, 1934, wherein a writer who signed himself "Neo-Papyrian," put forward the identical explanation to which I had come independently; as he used the same arguments as I had intended to employ in support of the hypothesis, I had, of course, to cancel the article which I had drafted.

I draw attention to the above explanation as the newspaper in question is not likely to reach many of those who are interested in these strange survivals from an age when the islands probably supported a considerable population on parts of the high level plateau now bare and barren. JAMES HORNELL.

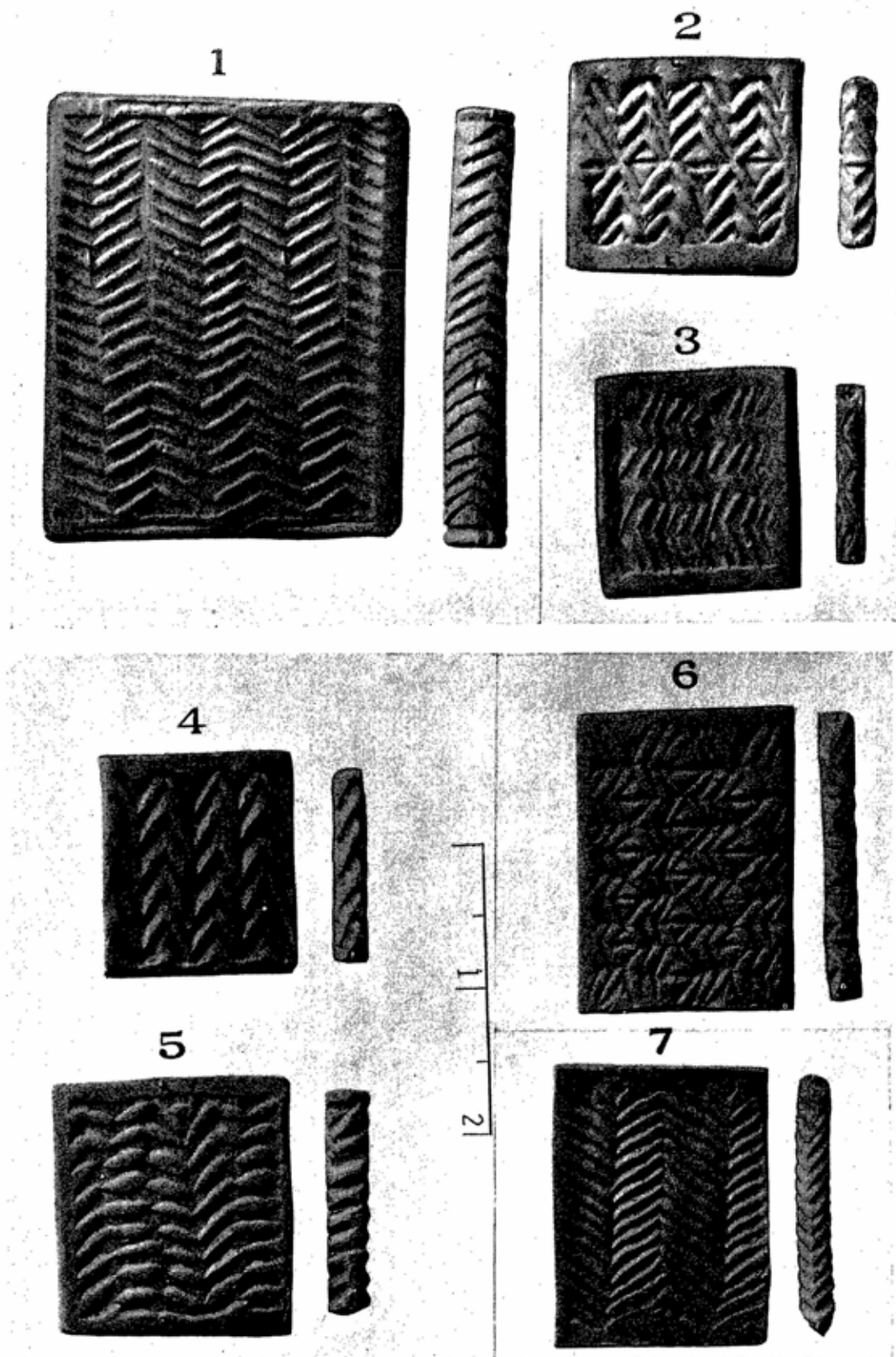
### Ritual Robe and Placenta.

**106** SIR,—Again and again I have been assured that the Indian interpretation of consecration garments as representing the placenta is a "rationalization," a highly metaphysical reinterpretation by subtle priestly brains. As these assertions have never been supported by any evidence, there was nothing to do but to wait till evidence turned up one way or the other.

Strehlow in his *Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme* (III, 1, 132) figures a "womb of rain" which was worn at the rain-making ceremony on the stomach. The Aranda then have a ritual garment identified as a womb, and they also have an idea of rain being born from a womb. No one has ever accused the Aranda of having a highly ingenious priesthood, or of being metaphysicians.

A. M. HOCART.





**WOODEN ROULETTES FOR IMPRESSING PATTERNS ON POTTERY**

WITH SPECIMENS OF THE IMPRESSIONS IN PLASTICINE: NIGER PROVINCE, N. NIGERIA.

*British Museum, 1932-12-12, presented by Mr. W. E. Nicholson, cf. MAN, 1934, 88.*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XXXIV, 107-124

JUNE, 1934

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES

#### Nigeria.

#### With Plate F.

Braunholtz.

**Wooden Roulettes for impressing Patterns on Pottery.** By H. J. Braunholtz, M.A., *British Museum.*

The wooden roulettes figured in Plate F were described by Mr. W. E. Nicholson in his "Brief Notes on Pottery at Abuja and Kuta, Niger Province" (*MAN*, 1934, 88), and the photograph of them should have been appended to that description under headings A (xii) and B (ix) (b). The scale included in the photograph is in inches. 107

Roulette No. 1 was used by a Nupé woman in Abuja Emirate; Nos. 2-7 were used by Gwari women at Kuta. They were collected by Mr. Nicholson and presented by him to the British Museum, where their inventory number is 1932-12-12. They are photographed and published by permission of the Trustees.

Alongside each roulette is an impression in plasticine of the pattern which it bears. The use of such roulettes for impressing patterns on pottery is widespread in Nigeria.

Roulettes of string were described and illustrated in Mr. Nicholson's article on the potters of Sokoto in *MAN*, 1929, 34 (Pl. C. fig. 3 (10a)). H. J. BRAUNHOLTZ.

#### International Congress.

Myres.

**The International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences: London Session, 30 July—4 August, 1934.** A Forecast by Professor John L. Myres, one of the General Secretaries.

The International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences has a long and rather cumbersome title, but its aims are simple and of quite general interest. It is designed to include all those departments of research which contribute to the scientific study of Man, in their application to races, peoples and modes of life. It is founded, that is, for free and friendly discussion, between men of good will from all nations, of the numerous questions as to Race and Culture which are continually arising and giving occasion for serious trouble, if they are not handled as scientific problems and examined freely, frankly and impartially. The new Congress, then, is international in its range, scientific in its aims and methods; but it may claim also the attention of intelligent laymen, as well as of specialists; and its proceedings and conclusions may offer guidance in practical affairs, as well as advance knowledge and clarify opinions. 108

The history of this new Congress has already been given fully in *MAN* (1912, 71, 103; 1931, 20, 63, 94, 137; 1932, 240; 1933, 84, 133), and in particular its relations with its "elder sister," the International Congress for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, which held its first session in London in the summer of 1932 (*MAN*, 1932, 240), and will meet again at Oslo in 1936. It had been planned that the new Congress shall always meet in the same years when the older International Congress of Americanists holds a session in the Old World; but though the next session of that Congress is now announced for December, 1934, at Seville, it has not been possible to arrange for the projected co-operation as to facilities for travel and interchange of views. There will, however, be opportunity for discussion of American topics and problems at the London meeting, and it is hoped that some of those who propose to go later to Seville may be able to take part in these too.

Though there have been Congresses for Prehistoric Anthropology and Archaeology, even before

the War, and a very successful Prehistoric Congress in London only two years ago, this is the first fully international meeting in this group of sciences which has brought deliberately together the representatives of the distinct but related studies of Race and of Culture, and made it possible to discuss questions in which both these distinct notions are involved, with full knowledge of the progress of science on both sides.

Through the courtesy of the Provost and Council of University College, London, and of the Director of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, close by, ample and convenient accommodation has been provided for the London Session, which will be held from 30th July to 4th August. The headquarters, reception room, and most of the sessions will be at University College, and the Great Hall of the College will be used for general sessions and for a loan exhibition of ethnological specimens and museum equipment.

The Congress will be opened by its Patron, His Royal Highness The Duke of York, in the Great Hall of the College, on Monday, 30th July, at 3.0 p.m., when the Officers and Council, already nominated, will be elected, and the President, the Earl of Onslow, will deliver his Address on the general aims of the meeting and the utility of the subjects of the Congress in administration.

The rest of the week will be devoted to the discussion of a large number of communications, grouped in nine or more sections, with provision also for joint meetings where the subject concerns more than one aspect of study. Sections are already established for Anthropology, anatomical and physical, Psychology, Demography and Population problems, Ethnography, general, African and American, Technology of arts and crafts, Sociology, Religions, and for Language and Writing. Principal discussions already announced will deal with Man's place among the Primates, the standardization of anthropometric and eugenic technique, psychological problems arising from the contact of races, the methods and technique of census-taking, the distribution of cultures and the adjustments consequent on culture-contact, the relation of pre-Spanish culture-centres in America with each other and with extra-American influences, the evolution and mutation of arts, industries, and designs, the sociology of ritual, the relation between ritual and myth, and the influence of social facts and practices on languages.

There will of course be other occasions for less formal intercourse; indeed much of the most valuable work of any conference of this kind is done outside the section rooms. On the Monday evening the delegates and members will be received on behalf of His Majesty's Government at Lancaster House, and have the opportunity of seeing the collections of the London Museum. On Tuesday there will be a reception at the Royal College of Surgeons, with a special exhibition of primitive types of Man and other anthropological material. On Wednesday the Treasurer of the Congress and Mrs. H. G. Beasley will receive the Congress at their Ethnographical Museum at Cranmore, Chislehurst, and on Thursday the Trustees of the British Museum will give a party at the British Museum (Natural History) in Cromwell Road. Special invitations have been received from Mr. and Mrs. George Eumorfopoulos, Mr. Alexander Keiller, and Messrs. Bryant and May to visit their private collections. There will be opportunities of seeing a number of unpublished films of savage ceremonies, and primitive industries and modes of life.

Evening meetings will be arranged for special lectures of more popular interest: by Professor T. C. Hodson, of Cambridge, on the ethnological aspects of the recent Census of India; by Dr. R. R. Marett of Oxford, on the growth and tendency of anthropological studies; and by Professor J. B. S. Haldane, on Anthropology and Human Biology. On the Tuesday the Congress will be welcomed by the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland at its Huxley Memorial Lecture, which this year will be given by Sir Aurel Stein on the Indo-Iranian Borderlands, and their prehistory in the light of geography and of recent exploration. The distinguished lecturer will be entertained at dinner before the lecture and will receive the Huxley Memorial Medal of the Institute.

After the London meetings, excursions are arranged to Oxford and Cambridge, and a longer tour will visit the principal provincial museums which contain collections of ethnological interest, returning to London on 10th August. As these excursions have to be arranged for the height of the holiday season, it is essential that those who wish to take part in them should give the earliest possible notice to the secretaries.



The office of the Congress is, c/o The Royal Anthropological Institute, 52, Upper Bedford Place, W.C.1. The membership subscription is £1, and two members of the family of any member are admitted as associate members at half-price. The number of registered members is already nearly 400, and delegates will be present from over 100 Governments, Academies, Universities, and other learned institutions.

The General Secretaries will be grateful for offers of hospitality for the more distinguished foreign visitors, and of voluntary help in the conduct of the meeting, especially from those who speak any foreign language colloquially, and who know their way well about London. JOHN L. MYRES.

### Anthropometry.

**The International Committee for Standardization of the Technique of Physical Anthropology. A General Statement of Aims and Methods.<sup>1</sup>**

1. There can be no doubt that an immense amount of labour has been wasted by physical anthropologists in the past owing to the fact that there has never been a real international agreement regarding the standardization of the methods they have employed. This has made some of the published records quite valueless, and nearly all of them are less valuable than they might have been. Such facts are known to anyone who has undertaken any specialized researches in the subject. It is obviously desirable that an international agreement which would standardize technique should be reached as soon as possible and that every effort should be made to render this more effective than previous attempts of the kind have proved to be. There seems to be no further need for discussions which merely emphasize the need for standardization without taking any positive steps to reach the end in view.

2. The body which deals with the work of standardization should be international in character. In July, 1932, in the absence of any truly international organization in physical anthropology—the Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences not having been founded at that time—the President of the International Federation of Eugenics Organizations invited a small group of four anthropologists to form a standardization committee (with power of co-option), under I.F.E.O. auspices, this appointment being confirmed by the I.F.E.O. at its New York meeting. The anthropologists in question had previously accepted an invitation by the Federation to its conference at Farnham in 1930, to discuss this same matter, and had there, and subsequently, functioned as a small advisory committee.

On the agreed condition that this Committee for the Standardization of the Technique of Physical Anthropology might be free to transfer itself to anthropological auspices if and when an international organization in anthropology should be instituted, three of the four accepted the invitation, the fourth being unable to do so owing to his duties as Chairman of another Eugenics committee; and Professor Th. Mollison, Professor J. Czekanowski and Miss M. L. Tildesley became the nucleus of the Standardization Committee, with the last named as Chairman-Convener. Those whose signatures are appended below constitute the foundation membership of the Committee.

As the first International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences will be held in July–August, 1934, it is hoped to take this, the first, opportunity of transferring the Standardization Committee to anthropological auspices.

3. One of the main purposes with which the physical anthropologist is concerned is the discrimination and comparison of different races of man from the anatomical standpoint. Researches of other kinds which he may undertake will often require special methods of treatment, but any body which aims at standardizing technique might begin profitably by restricting its scope to the consideration of the racial characters of adult individuals of either sex. This inquiry alone would have to be an extended one, and a co-operative effort is obviously needed. The questions to be considered concern, first, the collection of the data, secondly, their presentation and, lastly, methods of comparison. These related questions will all have to be considered in time, and it would be well if they could be dealt with ultimately by the same body, or by a group of bodies working in

<sup>1</sup> This general statement is being published also in other countries, in the original English, or in translations. Its text owes much to MAN, 1932, 193, "Standardization of the Technique of Physical Anthropology," by G. M. Morant, M. L. Tildesley, and L. H. Dudley Buxton.

co-operation. A start might be made, however, by considering only the technique of observation, whether the records to be made are of a quantitative or qualitative nature. There seems to be a need for a restricted technique which should never be omitted in recording the characters of racial groups, and also for a more extended one which could be applied when conditions permit. It is suggested that only the shorter, or essential, technique should be defined at this stage.

4. To base decisions regarding technique merely on committee discussion would be to repeat the ineffectual attempts at standardization of which we have instances in the past. The procedure we envisage involves the association of physical anthropologists together in regional groups, each having a secretary. The exact limits of a group are a matter for those most concerned: whereas in some cases it may consist of the workers of a single country (or not even include all of them), in others it may be thought desirable for several countries to combine together. The larger the groups the better. Proposals as to technique should not only be carefully worked out and tested by those who bring them forward, but also freely discussed and adequately tested by the other interested workers in the same group, and submitted for discussion and testing to other groups. Eventual agreements by the international body could thus be based on the results of objective tests, and made in the light of adequate investigation.

The International Committee should include a representative of each country carrying on researches in physical anthropology; but *ad hoc* International Sub-Committees should be appointed to discuss special branches of technique, and to these each group should delegate the representative best qualified to deal with the technique in question (or, if necessary, representatives of unreconciled views within the group).

5. The following seems to us the best way of reaching agreement on the technique of physical anthropology. The whole subject should be divided up under the heads into which it naturally falls, and dealt with in sections. Any who wish to put forward constructive and reasoned schemes which in their view might form a basis of agreement in any one or more sections of the subject are herewith invited to do so. Any such schemes should, of course, be founded on adequate practical experience, and should have regard to the ultimate possibilities of international adoption. Those putting forward provisional schemes relating to the same branch of studies should be enabled to compare and discuss their respective proposals, achieving as much agreement as possible. The resultant scheme or schemes should then be submitted to all those members of the group who are concerned with the use, or teaching, of observations belonging to the same category, or having had experience of the same. The framers of the schemes would then introduce such modifications as they could agree to, in accordance with majority views; and, if possible, arrive at an agreed scheme acceptable to the whole body of workers in their own group concerned with the branch of technique under discussion. The revised scheme should be published, and, together with the schemes produced by other groups, would form the starting point for international discussion. The experience gained in evolving a regionally agreed scheme should prove useful in the further work of arriving at international agreement. There, also, it would have to be realized that the object of stating the regional schemes would be to remove the differences that they might manifest.

6. If these suggestions are adopted the first thing to do is to define the different branches of racial studies dealt with by the physical anthropologist which it will be profitable to consider at the initial stage. We offer the following tentative grouping:—

#### I. *Living Material.*

- (a) Head and body measurements.
- (b) Descriptive characters (integumentary colours, etc.).
- (c) Physiological measurements (blood groups, etc.).
- (d) Photographic (still and motion) and other representations.

#### II. *Dead Material.*

- (a) Various parts of the skeleton. Measurements, photographic and other representations, with remarks on sexual differences, age changes (in the adult), qualitative characters and anomalous conditions which are likely to be of racial significance.
- (b) Soft parts.

III. *The Correlation of Observations* on the living, on cadavers, and on skeletal material.

The study of the comparative human anatomy of the soft parts other than the brain is likely to prove of great importance, but it is still in its infancy and is only included above in the hope that some agreement might be reached as to the method of approach which is likely to lead to the most profitable anthropological results. We feel that for the moment, at least, those attempts at standardization are most likely to be successful which are limited in scope to subjects on which attention has been chiefly concentrated in recent years and for which a considerable amount of comparative material is already available. Workers in these branches would welcome the standardization of other descriptive techniques—such as those associated with pathological and anomalous conditions, demographic and vital statistics and psychological characters other than those which might be included under physiological measurements—but these branches are at present of less urgent importance to the physical anthropologist and in dealing with them he would require more aid from workers in cognate sciences.

7. We venture to suggest that the following considerations might guide those who are dealing with some aspects of the inquiry. Several of the precautions given may seem obvious enough, but it may be shown that many of them have been neglected by those who have attempted to define standardized techniques in the past.

(a) The methods adopted should, as far as is consistent with efficiency, be those which have been most generally accepted. In the case of 'points' and measurements, it is undesirable to decide on any definitions which have not been applied satisfactorily to series of adequate length representing a number of different races and including individuals of both sexes. If it is thought desirable to give definitions which have not been tested extensively in practice, then this fact should be stated. It may be pointed out that many of the measurements, even in the most widely accepted text-books of anthropology, seem to have been defined before they had been taken on any but small numbers of specimens or individuals.

(b) In order to decide which definitions have been most widely and successfully used in the past, it would be well to compile an annotated bibliography of the more important literature.

(c) A standardized anatomical nomenclature should be used in definitions. We suggest that unless and until modified by international agreement among the anatomists, the Basle Nomina Anatomica (B.N.A.) terminology should be adopted by anthropologists.

(d) Very similar, but not truly comparable, definitions of the same character—such as the head length—have been used by different workers in the past. The best definition of the measurement expressing the character should be adopted and all others should, in general, be rejected. In the case of skeletal material, the definition which can most generally be applied to defective specimens should be adopted if possible. The breadth of the orbit has been commonly measured in three different ways. The only orbital breadth defined at the Monaco conference in 1906 is the one from the dacryon, in spite of the fact that this cannot generally be measured on skulls which are at all defective.

(e) It is suggested that the best instrument for the purpose should be specified in the case of each measurement. It is advisable, further, that the best method of using the instrument should be illustrated by photographs or drawings, as a help to achieving absolute standardization of technique. It may be premature to suggest the use of motion pictures projected from small size films, but it is felt that in the future we may look to this exact method as a further aid in arriving at a uniformity of technique among those workers who are unable to visit each other's laboratories.

(f) Frequent difficulty in identifying with any exactness the anatomical points used in the definition of various measured characters is a constant source both of inaccuracy and of considerable differences in personal equation. Definitions of measurements whether on living or skeletal material should, therefore, attempt to reduce difficulties of this nature to the smallest possible limits. Technique should be as simple and the identification of terminals as unambiguous as possible. Here, again, photographs or other objective records should supplement clear instructions wherever they would help to remove ambiguity. In the case of measurements it is also essential that the units to be adopted should be stated, and it is most desirable that there should be remarks relating to the magnitude of the personal equation of a single observer and to the differences likely to be found between two different observers following the same definitions.

(g) The correlations of measurements should be taken into account if possible when a selection of measurements is being made.

(h) While the needs of adult human material should be considered primarily, the methods adopted should, if possible, be applicable also to non-adult and non-human groups.

8. We should like to emphasize that the methods of an observational science, such as physical anthropology, cannot be learned satisfactorily by merely reading instructions, however carefully these are prepared. Laboratory training, and preliminary field practice if living material is to be dealt with, should be considered essential.

V. BUNAK, *U.S.S.R.*

CHEVKET AZIZ, *Turkey.*

MENDES CORRÊA, *Portugal.*

JAN. CZEKANOWSKI, *Poland.*

A. FRANCIS DIXON, *Irish Free State.*

M. R. DRENNAN, *South Africa.*

C. FRAIPONT, *Belgium.*

KAARLO HILDÉN, *Finland.*

E. A. HOOTON, *United States.*

J. P. KLEIWEIG DE ZWAAN, *Holland.*

VIKTOR LEBZELTER, *Austria.*

H. LUNDBORG, *Sweden.*

THEODOR MOLLISON, *Germany.*

LUIS DE HOYOS SAINZ, *Spain.*

OTTO SCHLAGINHAUFEN, *Switzerland.*

SERGIO SERGI, *Italy.*

V. SUK, *Czechoslovakia.*

M. L. TILDESLEY, *Great Britain.*

H. V. VALLOIS, *France.*

K. WAGNER, *Norway.*

T. L. WOO, *China.*

F. WOOD-JONES, *Australia.*

## Britain: Archæology.

Palmer.

Another Palæolith from Yorkshire. *By Professor L. S. Palmer.*

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### I. INTRODUCTORY.

During the course of some University Extension Lectures on Prehistory at Scarborough last autumn Mr. W. Newton brought for my inspection what appeared to me to be a typical Palæolithic implement which he had dug up in the locality. Subsequent investigation of the site and type revealed the fact that this implement is not only a Late Lower or Early Middle Palæolith, but seems to have come from the glacial débris of that immediate vicinity. For this reason the find seems worthy of record.

Accounts of other pre- or interglacial implements from Yorkshire are very few. The small coup-de-poing found in 1882 by Boynton at Huntow near Bridlington (Fig. 2), and described by Boyd Dawkins<sup>1</sup> has unfortunately disappeared in spite of several attempts to trace it. Reginald Smith<sup>2</sup> described a flake resembling a Mousterian point which came from the Upper Boulder Clay on Newbiggen Farm four miles south-west of Whitby in the valley of the Esk. A quartzite implement very much abraded is described by Trechmann<sup>3</sup> as a rough attempt to make a hand axe of Chelles or St. Acheul type. The implement was found in the interglacial gravels which immediately preceded the deposition of the Cheviot and Scottish drift. The site of the find was on the Durham coast four miles north-west of Hartlepool. Another implement, possibly an Eolith, is figured by Elgee<sup>4</sup>, whilst Collins<sup>5</sup> has found a series of both Lower and Upper Palæoliths in the Nidderdale valley. These last finds yield perhaps the most conclusive evidence for the presence of interglacial man in Yorkshire at least as far north as this valley. The account of these discoveries by Collins is followed by an article by Burchell<sup>6</sup> in which he describes implements from Danes Dyke near Flamborough and from Kelsey Hill east of Hull. Whatever view be taken concerning the geological age of the Danes Dyke and Kelsey Hill deposits from which these implements came, the industries cannot be shown on Burchell's own reasoning to be older than Upper Palæolithic, so that they are perhaps not relevant to the present discussion. Incidentally, many searches in the Kelsey Hill and Burstwick gravels have not led to the discovery of any undoubted Lower Palæoliths from these sites.

Apart from Burchell's implements, there seems to be definite evidence for the presence of

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Royal Anthro. Inst.*, Vol. 40, pp. 233-263, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia*, Vol. LXXII, p. 36, 1921-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Geol. Mag.*, Vol. 65, p. 25, 1928.

<sup>4</sup> 'Early Man in North-east Yorkshire,' 1930.

<sup>5</sup> *Proc. Prehistoric Soc., E. Anglia*, Vol. VI, p. 156, 1930.

<sup>6</sup> *Proc. Prehistoric Soc., E. Anglia*, Vol. VI, p. 226, 1930.

pre- or interglacial man in Yorkshire, and it is thought that the present find may constitute another link in the chain of evidence.

## II. THE IMPLEMENT.

Fig. 1 shows the implement, and from this diagram it is evident that the artifact may be described as a small coup-de-poing very similar to many found at La Micoque. It is  $3\frac{1}{8}$ " long and is patinated a light chestnut colour somewhat similar to some of the palæoliths found by Major Collins. The present specimen is beginning to turn white along one edge as though it had been exposed to the atmosphere during the later phases of its history. The implement is abraded, but shows no evidence of ice scratching.

Mr. Miles Burkitt, in a letter, states, "The object can be described as a typical coup-de-poing or perhaps better as a small hand chopper. The one face is well trimmed all over, the other very much less so; the one edge is sharp, the other completely blunt, . . . a Late Lower Palæolithic or Early Middle Palæolithic date might quite reasonably be assigned to it."

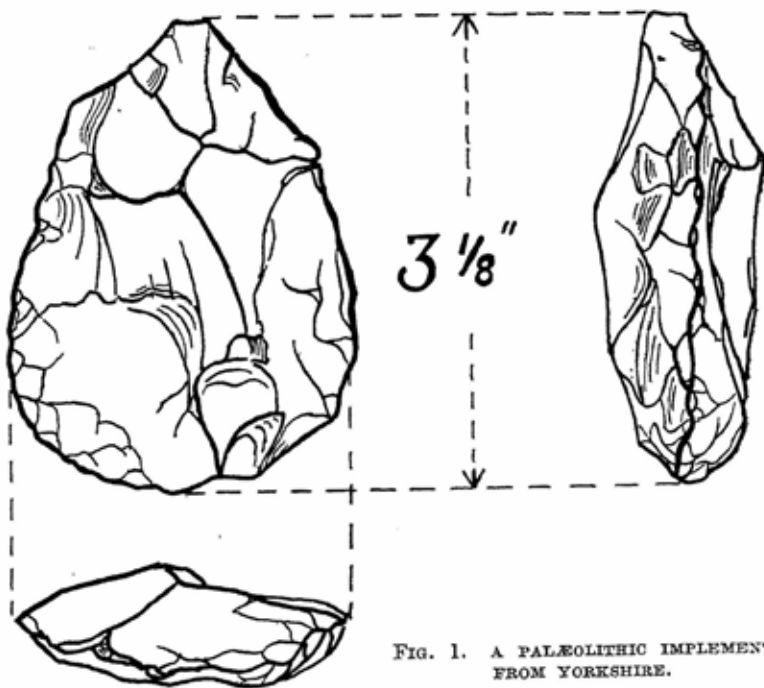


FIG. 1. A PALÆOLITHIC IMPLEMENT FROM YORKSHIRE.

There would thus seem to be little doubt as to its cultural type: a type usually associated with the warm interglacial fauna of Late Acheulean or Early Mousterian times. This conclusion is not refuted by the following geological evidence from the locality in which it was found.

## III. THE PROVENANCE OF THE IMPLEMENT.

The implement was ploughed up from a depth of about 8 or 10 inches on a slight ridge of ground

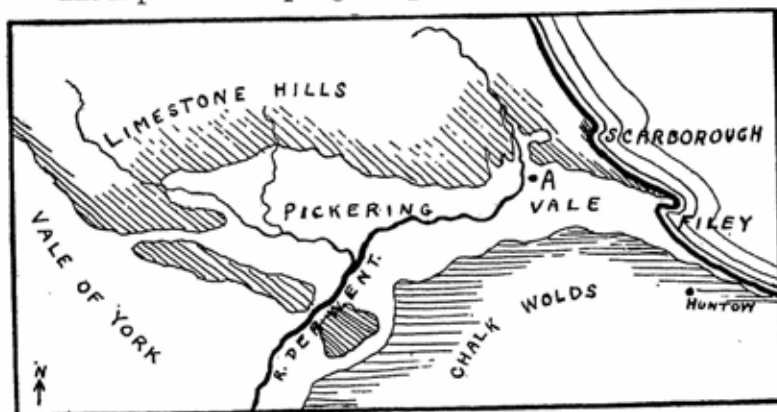


FIG. 2. SKETCH MAP OF THE VALE OF PICKERING, YORKSHIRE.

at the point A (Fig. 2)<sup>7</sup> which is near the village of Irton, three miles south-west of Scarborough. The ridge itself is composed of a mixture of recent alluvial deposits and glacial débris together with occasional large rounded boulders of limestone and sandstone. The glacial débris is an outwash from the great masses of 'foreign' glaciated boulders which have accumulated at the lower ends of those valleys running southwards from the

<sup>7</sup> O.S. Map reference—Yorkshire (North Riding), 6-in. Quarter sheet, XCIII, N.E. Lat.  $54^{\circ} 14' 45''$  N, Long.  $0^{\circ} 27' 50''$  W.



Jurassic limestone hills. These highlands form the northern boundary of the now dried up Pickering 'lake,' the bed of which is covered with recent alluviums and peat. These alluvial deposits overlie the glacial débris along the north-east 'shore' of the 'lake.' More recent weathering has caused some of this glacial material to be washed from the higher levels on to the plain, with the result that a thin scattering of glacial débris overlies the alluvium where the valleys (particularly Forge Valley down which the Derwent flows) debouch into the vale. The débris itself had been collected by the ice from the pre-glacial land surfaces of the north and it is presumably from these surfaces that the implement was originally swept.

It is of interest, and possibly not a chance coincidence, that the Palæolith picked up by Mr. Boynton came from the high lands forming the opposite 'shore' of Pickering 'lake.' Furthermore, it was a small coup-de-poing of the same cultural type as the present find. The significance of the form of the implement was naturally not appreciated in 1882; but in 1910 Sir Wm. Boyd Dawkins realized that the implement was the then most northerly evidence for the presence of pre-glacial man in this country, for he stated,<sup>8</sup> ". . . that he (i.e., 'river-drift man') followed them (i.e., 'the southern group of mammalia') from the south over Europe as far as the north as the British Isles. . . . I am indebted to Mr. Boynton for the most northern locality in which they (i.e., 'river-drift implements') have been found, at Huntow, near Bridlington, as well as for the figure of the implement that extends their range to the district north of the Humber." The present find from the valley of the Derwent, and possibly the Mousterian point from the valley of the Esk, described by Reginald Smith, now extend the range of interglacial man as far north as the moors of the North Riding.

#### IV. CONCLUSION.

On the whole, the geological evidence is less conclusive than the typological evidence, as it necessarily must be with an implement ploughed up from a superficial deposit. The cultural type is undoubtedly Late Lower or Early Middle Palæolithic and may be classed as Late Acheulean or preferably Micoquian. The geological evidence is definitely not in disagreement with this conclusion. Since the implement was not *in situ* it would be unwise to base any specific deduction on the provenance of the find. Nevertheless, the evidence supports the suggestion that the implement came with the glacial débris which has accumulated where the River Derwent debouches into Pickering Vale. It is therefore concluded that the implement is another example of an interglacial Palæolith from Yorkshire, and the find seems to give further support to the suggestion that interglacial man lived and hunted on the moors of the North Riding.

I would like to thank Mr. Newton for his kindness in placing the implement at my disposal.

L. S. PALMER.

#### Ireland: Archæology.

Davies: Evans.

**Excavation of a Horned Cairn at Ballyalton, Co. Down.** By E. E. Evans and O. Davies. Preliminary report of a paper read before the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, to be published subsequently in full in their Proceedings.

**111** This monument lies on a spur of Slievenagriggiddle at a height of 150 feet, 2½ miles east of Downpatrick. It was excavated in May, 1933, by the writers of this note and Miss Gaffikin, with a subsidy from the Belfast Corporation grant for prehistoric research. It is oriented N.W.-S.E.; the horns are at the latter end. The material of the cairn consists mainly of large stones, most of which had been removed. The cairn was shown to have been parabolic in shape, and to have measured about 115 feet by 65 feet. On the west side was a slight depression, which was found to be a pit filled with dark earth containing a little pottery (Fig. 2, A1), extending to virgin soil and roughly paved; the walls were formed by the bedded stones of the cairn base.

The two chambers were badly disturbed by growing thorn trees; the inner may originally have been divided into two. The three remaining side walls were supported on thin slabs, built up in careful dry masonry in one case. Some of the side walls were overlapping, one on a prepared face

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 257 and 256.

# PLAN of CHAMBERED HORNED CAIRN AT BALLYALTON, CO. DOWN.

SHOWING TRENCHES DUG & SECTIONS TAKEN (S1-S6).

BROKEN LINES MARK PRESUMED  
LIMITS OF CAIRN &  
PAVED FORECOURT.

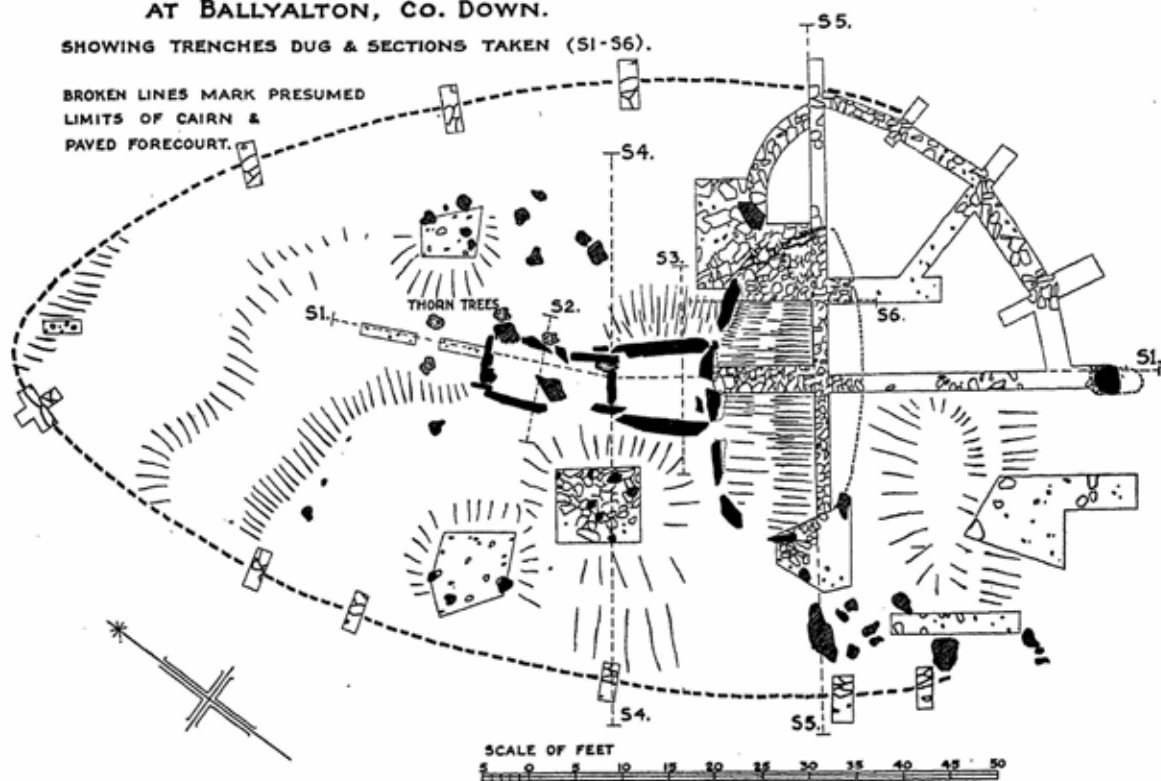


FIG. 1.

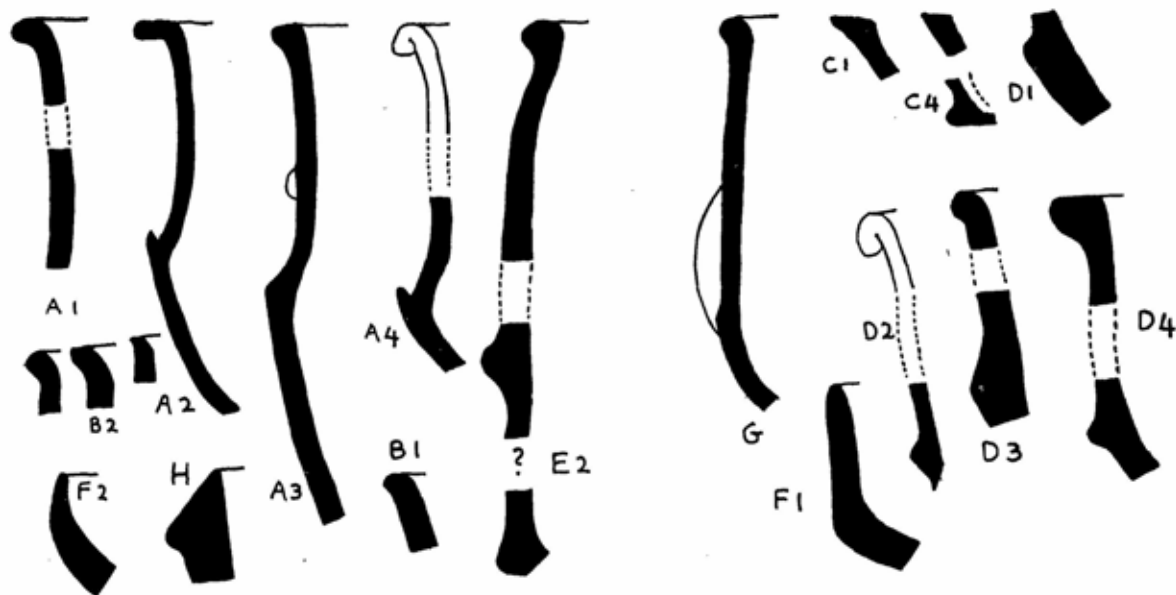


FIG. 2.

bearing marks of tooling; others were supported by means of jams resting against the sills. There were no covering stones.

The horn-stones are now six in number, but holes which had contained two more were discovered (*see plan*). In front is a paved forecourt, overlying part of which is a bank which seals the entrance to the chambers. In line with the chambers and 40 feet away is a single upright set deep in virgin soil; it apparently lay outside a rough foundation of stones continuing the line of the revetment.

Both chambers seem to have been floored with a thin layer of sterile earth containing charcoal. The inner one yielded many broken sherds and splinters of bone in hopeless confusion. It contained two pits dug into virgin soil and filled with very dark earth and a little pottery. Their position suggested that they had contained buttress-stones such as remained elsewhere.

The outer chamber had been partly rifled. The undisturbed portion had two layers of rough paving, between which were many stone-lined pockets containing black material, human and animal bones, sherds and worked flints.

Pottery and flints were found both in the bank and below the paving on which it rested. One of the stone-lined holes which had contained a horn-stone yielded a deposit of three flint axes, about 40 flakes, and a stone spindle whorl.

The pottery seems all to belong to the late neolithic period; there was none of the Hallstatt-late Tène ware characterized by brush-marks which was found at Goward (MAN, 1933, 117). The most distinctive shape is a wide bowl with flat splaying rim and high angular shoulder (Fig. 2, A2, A3, A4). Pots of this class are usually black and highly polished, but never decorated except for ripple-ornament on the rim. Some other pots of coarser ware had impressed comb or cord ornamentation, in one case in panels (Fig. 2, G). One of the pots which is nearly complete is a round-bottomed bowl with five vertical unpierced lugs on the shoulder. Flat bases are very rare. The closest parallels to this pottery are to be found in West Scotland, but the high shoulder seems to be a local development.

The flints include many hollow scrapers and one lozenge-shaped arrow-head. The human bones are fragmentary, not calcined; Professor T. Walmsley reports that the thickness of the skulls is 7.5-10 mms. The animal bones include sheep or goat, wolf or dog, ox, pig and possibly deer; many of them are burnt, and the presence of young animals is very noticeable. E. E. EVANS: O. DAVIES.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

Village Handicrafts in the Sudan. Summary of a Communication presented by Mrs. Powell-Cotton. 8 May, 1934.

**112** An explanation was given of ethnographical films taken by Major Powell-Cotton during a shooting expedition in 1932-33.

Eight thousand feet up in the Imatong Mountains men of the *Lango* tribe were shown hewing spear shafts with an axe out of the solid, from the trunk of a tree, known to them as 'nashil.'

The rough shafts were whittled down with a spear head, passed over the flame of a wood fire, straightened by pressure in a hole pierced through the broad trunk of a growing tree, and polished with locally prepared castor oil. These spear shafts have a wide renown as the strongest and lightest procurable.

At a *Latuka* forge the village blacksmith wielded so heavy a stone as a sledge-hammer that all his strength was needed to lift it.

In a game track a *Dinka* hunter laid a noose and set its weighty spring-trap, formed like a bow strung with twisted hide; and a fight was presented between a *Dinka* and a *Jur*, each armed with a knoberry and heavy parrying shield.

*Lango*, *Latuka*, *Zande*, *Dinka* and *Jur* potters were seen at work. 'Titan,' the *Lango*, a master man with three assistants, had his workshop in a grotto of piled boulders on the Imatong foothills, high above his village hut. If he worked at home "all men coming looking and pots cracking in fire." The clay was dug and kneaded at the river bank below, and watered, beaten with a wooden mallet and again kneaded on a flat stone at the workshop.

The base of the pot was moulded from a lump of clay resting on an old sherd. The master potter added rolls of about one inch thick right round and along the edge, with no apparent overlap, joining them with finger and thumb. His assistants on the other hand added small overlapping pellets to the inside of the pot.

The bowl of the vessel was formed with the fingers to a thickness of about  $\frac{3}{8}$ th of an inch and then smoothed inside and out with the half husk of a bean known as 'Ajibilete.' A large snail shell was also used for scraping.

Decoration took the form of one or two studded bands, formed by a notched wooden 'roulette' on a surface roughened with a plaited strip of palm leaf.

The pot was sun dried and polished inside and out with a smooth pebble, before it was embedded with two to six others in wood and the whole set on fire.

The vessels to be dyed were painted inside and out hot from the flames with a solution of camwood applied on a brush of aloe fibre.

A *Latuka* woman potter built up her pots spirally from the base, using a bamboo spatula, a freshwater mussel shell, a fragment of gourd and a palm leaf plait. The clay was very dark grey.

A *Dinka* woman prepared her strips of clay by rolling them resolutely with one hand on a hard hide mat, before use in a spiral from the base.

A *Zande* potter, 'Mbitim,' was an artist of exceptional skill and originality. His pots, jars and dishes were of varied and beautiful form, many decorated with *Zande* heads and figures, each one distinct, true to type and with its own definite personality. He worked swiftly with his fingers, and a split wood spatula; the only other tools were an *achatina* shell for the nostrils, and a fragment of gourd. The clay was very light in colour.

This man's services are now pledged to the Sleeping Sickness Station at Lirangu, where he is encouraged to make book-ends and other objects of European design, but his work still remains individual.

A *Jur* woman, who also built up spirally, showed considerable skill in pots with two squared handles.

The accurate chevron pattern was made by eye with the pressure of a confident thumb along two strips of fibre loosely twisted together. She stated that she had not been taught to make handles; she had never seen them; "they came here from there," pointing to her pot and then to her head.

Dances, hut building, thatching, grinding millet, hairdressing and pipemaking, were among the other pursuits shown.

#### The Problem of Totemism. Summary of a Communication presented by Dr. G. Wagner, 29 May, 1934.

The paper examines the various attempts to formulate a general theory of totemism on the basis of a number of customs generally labelled totemic. It can be shown that these theories centre around an arbitrary concept of totemism which has been arrived at by first shuffling the so-called totemic data, divorced from their respective cultural backgrounds, and then searching for their common denominator. The question is whether such a concept of totemism corresponds to any cultural reality, or whether it is a mere abstraction and therefore meaningless for the study of culture. 113

As against this approach to the problem of totemism, stress can be laid upon the necessity of refraining from a general theory altogether. It is imperative to replace such a theory by a study of the 'totemic' customs in their relation to the culture in which they occur. Thus the various 'features' of totemism have to be considered not as stable and unambiguous elements, but as functioning parts in a given context—viewed against the background of the actual culture within which they operate. The procedure of such a study of totemic customs may be demonstrated by a few examples that lend themselves to contextualization. It then emerges that many superficially similar customs lumped together by the common label 'totemic' have little or nothing in common upon closer analysis. Positively the functional analysis of totemic customs will lead to a regrouping of the data on the basis of their cultural significance.

Only after such a study has been carried through on a wide scale will it be possible to decide

whether the general concept of totemism has any relevancy, i.e., whether it covers a phenomenon of comparable nature that leads a real, not merely artificially constructed existence in the life of primitive peoples.

### Frazer Lecture.

Rose.

**Concerning Parallels.** *The Frazer Lecture delivered at Oxford by Professor H. J. Rose: Oxford, 10th May, 1934.*

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THE annual Frazer Lecture was delivered at Oxford on 10th May, 1934, by Professor H. J. Rose of the University of St. Andrews who discussed the legitimacy of the sort of parallels to classical religious phenomena which Frazer uses, and led up to a discussion of polygenetic and distributionist views in anthropology.

The use of parallels between the habits and beliefs of one people and another, while particularly conspicuous in the works of Frazer, is nothing new, being prominent in works published as early as the eighteenth century. It has generally involved recognition of the principle laid down by Bergier (1767) that *partout les hommes se ressemblent*. Frequently there has gone with it a shallow conception of human evolution, tacitly assuming that the resemblance between different peoples at approximately the same stage of culture was so close as to amount to identity, and also that the stages of culture could be dated by merely placing

first in time those which appeared simplest and most brutish. This, being the result of false reasoning and the neglect of elementary philosophic principles, has led to unsound results. In consequence, the attempts of the so-called historical school, of which Graebner, Pinard de la Boullaye, and W. Schmidt are outstanding representatives, to establish objective criteria of dating and a strictly scientific method of handling the facts must be welcomed, whether the results they have so far achieved are acceptable or not. On examining the criteria in question, however, it is found that they are open to serious objection at many points, and that a rigid application of them would result in crippling much anthropological investigation. Examples can easily be found of usages from peoples wholly unconnected ethnologically illustrating each other in a most welcome fashion, the common humanity of the minds of both being more important than any specific difference. The most fruitful activity of an anthropologist is rather psychological than historical or geographical, although these aspects should not be neglected; and to misunderstand the motive of an action may result in failure to place it even in its right historical context.

### OBITUARY.

**John Henry Holmes: born 19 June, 1866: died 19 April, 1934.**

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John Henry Holmes was born on June 19, 1866, at Harbertonford, Devon, having been ordained in 1893, he was appointed by the London Missionary Society at first to the Fly River District, Papua, and a year later to the Elema District, Gulf of Papua. He settled at Jokea in November, 1894, but in 1897 he removed to Orokolo, and in 1912 he finally settled at Urika in the Purari Delta. He left Papua at the end of 1917 and, having retired from active service, returned to England in 1920. He died at Streatham, London, on April 19, 1934.

Thus for over twenty years 'Homu' laboured among two of the most interesting of the peoples of the 'Papuan' stock, about whom previously there was but scanty and often erroneous information. Linguistic studies engrossed the attention of Mr. Holmes as he rightly felt that it is only by a mastery of the language that a really thorough knowledge can be obtained of any people and this must also be a preliminary to effective missionary work, and he realized that this was also the case for ethnographical inquiry, to this and to his caution in recording his observations is due his rather scanty earlier contributions to ethnology. He had a genuine regard for and sympathy with his people, who came to regard him as a trusted friend. His work, in the Purari Delta, lay among energetic turbulent tribes who were often at war

with each other, and he proved to be a successful peacemaker. His influence was also manifested towards ameliorating conditions and customs that were detrimental to the natives.

Mr. Holmes was a Correspondent of the Institute from 1903 to 1917, and the following list of his publications shows that he was worthy of this recognition. In addition he translated the New Testament into the Namau language and wrote books for instruction and worship in that language. 'Initiation Ceremonies of Natives of the Papuan Gulf' (*J.A.I.*, XXXII, 1902, pp. 418-425); 'Notes on the Religious Ideas of the Elema Tribe of the Papuan Gulf' (*l.c.* pp. 426-431); 'Notes on the Elema Tribes of the Papuan Gulf' (*J.A.I.*, XXXIII, 1903, pp. 125-134)—this is a sketch of the distribution and history of the Gulf tribes; 'Introductory Notes to a Study of the Totemism of the Elema Tribes, Papuan Gulf' (*MAN*, 1905, Nos. 2, 10); 'Introductory Notes on the Toys and Games of Elema, Papuan Gulf' (*J.R.A.I.*, XXXVIII, 1908, pp. 280-288); 'A Preliminary Study of the Namau Language, Purari Delta' (*J.R.A.I.*, XLIII, 1913, pp. 124-142). In *Primitive New Guinea* (London, Seeley Service & Co., 1924). This book deals with the general ethnography mainly of the Namau of the Delta Division and of the Ipi tribes of the Gulf Division, and in it he gives very interesting comparisons and contrasts between these two groups; in this way he filled up a broad gap in our knowledge of these coastal peoples. Finally he



published *Way Back in Papua* (London, G. Allen and Unwin, 1926), in which he attempted in narrative form to give a picture of the old native ways of life and of their ways of looking at things and at the same time noting the effects of the introduction of Christianity.

Unfortunately, Mr. Holmes had received no

scientific training, so there is a lack of precision in many aspects of his work, nevertheless he has given us very valuable accounts of the ethnography of the two areas and thus he takes an honourable place among those missionaries who have materially added to our knowledge of backward peoples.

A. C. HADDON.

## REVIEWS.

### RELIGION

**High Gods in North America.** By W. Schmidt. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. viii + 150 pp. Price 7s. 6d. net.

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It would be expected that Professor Schmidt would devote his Upton Lectures at Manchester College, Oxford (1932), to some aspect of the hypothesis with which his name is usually associated. In the preparation of the second volume of his 'Ursprung der Gottesidee,' he had been collecting material, as he explains, dealing with the oldest religions of North America. "I was 'almost living in these religions,'" he says, "and had 'become familiar with them both as a whole and in 'their innumerable details.'" It was inevitable, therefore, that he should select as his subject a survey of the 'High God religions' in this region, especially as the fresh data bearing on the problems of his book were enabling him to throw more light, as he believes, on the historical development of the three chief groups in the area—the North Central Californians, the Algonkins and the Salish, as well as the groups derived from them.

Furthermore, he thinks he has been able to fix approximately the time of their immigration into America, and to determine the relations of these religions to the oldest religions of the Old World. Thus, he felt he was in a position to show the value of his "historical method for "Ethnology, both in researches upon smaller groups, "and still more effectively, over large distances of space "and time." All things considered, therefore, the invitation to deliver a course on the Upton Foundation was a heaven-sent opportunity to introduce the historical method to "English hearers, not in a mere abstract "exposition, but applied to so concrete and important "a subject as these Amerindian religions."

The first wave, consisting of the North-West Central Californians and some of the North-East Algonkins, entered the continent from Asia in palaeolithic times when the present Behring Strait was still a land bridge. Although these primitive folk were devoid of any knowledge of mother right, totemism or agriculture, they had a well-defined belief in High Gods involving the idea of *creatio ex nihilo* independent of time and space by the sole will of the omnipotent Creator. Bearing with them "in their hearts the belief in one "great God, creator of heaven and earth and man, and "founder of the moral and social order of mankind," they penetrated "deeper and deeper into the immense "spaces of this mighty continent," and prayed to this God to help them and to procure for them animal and vegetable food. The firstlings of the animals and the first-fruits of the earth they offered to him in sacrifice, and "perhaps even then they had begun to form and "develop the multiplicity of their religious ceremonies, "which expressed their thinking and feeling towards "him, and especially the deep impression made on "their minds by the magnificent idea of the creation "of the world and man."

It may be said that in these lectures Fr. Schmidt established his contention that High Gods were not otiose deities, as had been generally supposed. It may indeed be true, as he affirms, that it is only in later

times that the figure is "overlaid, obscured and pushed "into the background, by other younger forms of "religion." But it is highly improbable that the offerings made to the tribal All Father were honorific. The fact that "the brain, marrow, head and heart "were selected for the purpose is to be explained in relation to the life-giving powers, or soul-substance, resident therein, and which was thought to be transferred to the god to maintain him in vigour. This appears to be a much more 'primitive' conception than that of offerings intended to honour the deity.

The second wave, that of the North-East Central Californians and the Western Algonkins, immigrated into North America when the land bridge had become a chain of islands. They were impressed by the vastness of the ocean and of the new continent, it is supposed, and therefore in their creation stories they depicted the earth created by the High God as at first quite small, but growing larger and larger by his will, till it becomes so large that he sends out Coyote, or the Wolf, or some other messenger, to measure its circumference. So enormous has it grown, however, that when he returns he is old and grey.

Ingenious as are these suggestions, they hardly accord with the author's admirable intention of presenting "not theories, but facts." Moreover, while the method employed is 'ethnological,' it is not 'historical' in the strict sense of the term, based as it is on an analysis of the material culture of the particular regions. Supposing that the first immigrants into America were connected with the oldest North-East Asiatic tribes such as the Samoyeds, and even with the palaeolithic survivors of *Homo Pekinensis*, as is suggested, it does not in the least follow from the evidence put forth in these lectures that monotheism was revealed to the human race at the threshold of its existence. The more this problem is investigated, the more apparent does it become that the belief in High Gods is a recurrent numinous concept which is not confined to any one state of culture or period in time. But whatever attitude may be taken to the conclusions of these lectures, the method is of interest to anthropologists, and so far as it goes is excellent. The material discussed also is of considerable value, and throws new light on the cultus connected with High Gods in North America. E. O. JAMES.

**A Short History of Religions.** By E. E. Kellert. London: W. Gollancz, Ltd., 1933. 607 pp. Price 5s.

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The greater part of this work falls quite outside the purview of an anthropological periodical. Everything from p. 168 onwards deals with the great ethical religions, Christianity being studied in more detail than the rest, as is natural, since the object of the book, as explained in a short preface, is to "stimulate the interest "of serious-minded people" who are thinking about religion, by giving them an account of its history which will at least not oblige them to unlearn much afterwards. The preceding chapters handle in order: 'Religion, "its Nature and Origin," 'Judaism' (again the treatment is largely concerned with the ethical and spiritual

developments), 'Religion in the Roman Empire,' 'The Greek Religion,' and 'The Germanic Religion.' The author is not a specialist on any of these things, and what he has to say is necessarily second-hand and often rather out of date. For instance, it is late in the day to spend even a few lines (p. 25) in discussing any form of the long-dead theory that myths set forth metaphysical, or other, truths in allegory (Mr. Kellett has enough native good sense to doubt it); the account of Roman religion shows acquaintance with Warde Fowler, in himself a good guide, but no knowledge of what has been done since his death; to say that Pentheus (p. 136) was killed at a 'corroboree' shows lack of perspective and failure to recognize the difference between two very different grades of culture; and there are other such slips here and there. But gross errors are absent, and the liberal and sympathetic spirit of the author should make his book acceptable to those for whom it is intended.

H. J. ROSE.

### Selbstmord und Todesfurcht bei den Naturvölkern.

By J. Wisse. Zutphen: W. J. Thieme, 1933. 118 548 pp.

This thorough work is an important addition to the papers of Steinmetz, Lasch, Westermarck, Vierkandt and others dealing with the same subject. One great merit of Wisse's book is that it contains a very conscientious collection of detailed accounts collected from various sources enabling the reader to form his own opinion. A drawback to the book is, in my opinion, that its psychological aspects are too simplified. Thus, the grouping of motives for suicide under such headings as "love or veneration after the death of others," "love of freedom and homesickness," "injury to the sense of personality," "love motives," etc., seems to be merely schematic, while statements such as, that women are more emotional than men (to explain the fact that suicide is more common among women) are too general. Especially in those cases where an apparently trifling thing caused suicide the question arises whether this precipitating event was not simply the last straw and whether the suicide was not brought about by a combination of various factors.

Suicide has been observed among 375 tribes. Suicide is, as a rule, caused by the personal decision of the individual concerned and helps to emphasize his independence. Among primitive people suicide is often regarded as something natural and as a matter of course. Belief in the next world makes suicide easier. It is very rarely the common belief that suicides lead an unhappy life in the next world. Wisse thinks that primitive people are not much afraid of death. Their disposition is not very active, and therefore they are inclined to disregard life. They often have a more indifferent attitude to death than civilized people, largely owing to their belief in the next world. The tribesmen blame suicide only in exceptional cases; mostly they approve of it. The greater prevalence of suicide among women is explained by the fact that women are more emotional than men, and that they often live in more unfavourable conditions.

Suicide is often precipitated by the religious idea that relatives should follow the deceased (this is reinforced by the disadvantages of widowhood). The other motives for suicide among primitive people are similar to those in civilized societies, with the exception perhaps that revenge is a fairly common motive among primitives. The way suicide is committed varies considerably. The type of suicide among the most primitive tribes is characterized by great passivity, but comparatively few cases are recorded among such people.

DR. MELITTA SCHMIDBERG.

### AFRICA

The Early Cape Hottentots described in the writings of Olfert Dapper (1668), Willem ten Rhyne (1686) and Johannes Gulielmus de Grevenbroek (1695). The original texts, with translations into English by I. Schapera, M.A., Ph.D., Senior Lecturer in Anthropology, University of Cape Town, and B. Farrington, M.A., Professor of Latin, University of Cape Town. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by I. Schapera. 8½ + 5½, xv + 309 + x pp.; 7 plates. The Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town, 1933. (Price to members, 7s. 6d.)

It was a good thought to make these early accounts available for general reading. Dapper's great work on Africa (*Nauwkeurige Beschrijvinge*, 1668), from which Dr. Schapera has extracted the passages bearing on the Hottentots, was praised as surprisingly accurate for its period by the late Emil Torday. Though he seems never to have visited any part of Africa himself, Dapper has in many cases used first-hand information obtained from correspondents on the spot, and his description of the Hottentots, here reprinted, was most probably derived from G. F. Wreede. Dr. Schapera is of opinion that "with all its inaccuracies" (and these are most marked in references to historical occurrences), Dapper's work may justly be regarded "as containing the first really serviceable account of the Hottentots." Dapper, by the way, applies the name 'Kaffers' to the Hottentots, though Ten Rhyne (p. 112) stresses the distinction universally recognized to-day: 'de Nigritis, vulgo Kaffers,' who are 'Hottentottis' 'contermini.' Dapper gives the usual explanation of the word 'Hottentot,' but Dr. Schapera in a footnote refers to the suggestion of Prof. Du Plessis—also advocated by Prof. Struck in *Archiv für Anthropologie*, 1920, p. 78, that it was derived from a word frequently occurring in native dancing songs. Struck refers to De la Loubère, 1688. Dr. Schapera is responsible for the translation of Dapper's quaint seventeenth-century Dutch; the Latin of Ten Rhyne and Grevenbroek has been rendered into English by Professor Farrington.

Ten Rhyne and Grevenbroek, unlike Dapper, had personal contact with South Africa, though the former made but a short visit. He was, however, of an exemplary diligence in collecting first-hand information, and his notes are of considerable importance. Grevenbroek, on the other hand, resided at the Cape (part of the time in an official capacity) from 1636 till his death, which seems to have taken place about 1725. The work now current under his name is comparatively slight, being "a letter written (in 1695) to an unnamed 'clergyman in Holland'; but there is reason to suppose that his materials were made use of by Peter Kolb in his 'Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum' (1719).

Grevenbroek's essay, headed 'An Account of the 'Hottentots,' does not always distinguish between that tribe and the Bantu, whom, however, he sometimes mentions under the quite recognizable names of Magosi (Amaxosa), Matimbi (Amatambu), and Mapontes (Amampondo). As might have been expected, various inaccuracies have crept into all three accounts; these are competently dealt with in Dr. Schapera's notes.

A small point, but perhaps worth notice, is that *Ingome*, said to be the name of the King of Portugal's fort (*ex castello Regis Lusitaniae Ingome dicto . . . proficiscens*) may be the Swahili *ngome*, 'fort.' *Symbao* seems more likely (if the *castellum regis* is, as Dr. Schapera thinks, Sofala) to be Zimbabwe than Mozambique. (Note on p. 287.)

A note on p. 69, states that no other authority mentions "the more elaborate methods of killing described by

"Dapper" as part of Hottentot judicial procedure. These singularly horrible descriptions cannot but remind one of a sentence in Mr. J. Y. Gibson's *Story of the Zulus*. The more sensational account of Dingana's death, he says, was "recorded by a Boer, to whom the story had obviously been furnished by one who desired 'to tell something pleasing.'" There is no indication of the source whence, or the manner in which, Dapper's atrocities were obtained, and one or two details strike one as inherently improbable. The official records of more than one European nation seem to show that any amount of ingenuity in torture was considered necessary in dealing with slaves, or supposedly inferior races—and there is no indication that the devices in question were adopted from the latter. A. W.

### Practical Phonetics for Students of African Languages.

By D. Westermann and Ida C. Ward. *International Institute of African Languages and Cultures*, 1933. 227 pp., many diagrams. Price 8s. 6d. **120**

This book bids fair to become the African field worker's guide in pronunciation. There are very few possibilities in African sounds which the authors have overlooked, and which a cursory study of this book will not identify. There is no space wasted on lengthy descriptions of the purely physiological or physical aspects of sound production or reception. The reader is taught, as well as any book can teach, how to produce the various African speech sounds himself, having first been introduced to the phonetic processes underlying the familiar sounds of his own mother tongue (which, in this book, may be taken as English, French, German or Italian).

One thing, however, this book cannot provide, and that is an acoustic appreciation of the sounds themselves. To be able to pronounce properly one must hear properly; for, no matter how we describe the difference between, say, aspirated and non-aspirated consonants, there are many people who will never be able to make this difference themselves until it is brought to their ears. To those who have already taken oral courses in phonetics, this book is doubly useful, as, having once got the 'feel' of their articulatory organs, they can proceed to sounds which they have never practiced in class, purely from descriptions such as abound in this book.

One cannot discuss a work of this nature without some reference to the vexed question of orthography of African languages. Many of these languages are now being written in the orthography of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, of which the authors write (footnote, p. 11): "There is a movement afoot to make this a 'World Orthography'." This alphabet, and still more the fundamental principles which underlie it (see the Memorandum of the Institute: 'Practical Orthography of African Languages') is now on trial in Africa, and has met with heavy criticism, mostly on the grounds of expense of new type (a temporary matter), but also on the grounds of its obvious inconsistency, in places. When, for example, we find that the letters 'th' are to stand for aspirated *t* in some languages ('h' representing breath force, p. 50), but for dental *t* in others ('h' being a diacritic to show that the tongue touches the teeth, pp. 79, 205, 210), or that 'aa' may either stand for a long vowel in a single syllable or two vowels, in separate syllables, standing next to each other, we realize that, with all its ascendancy over the Roman alphabet, it has still some way to go to become the ideal alphabet for all languages.

Mention should be made here, too, of intonation.

The book gives some valuable notes on how to study tone languages, with principles for marking the tones when writing the languages. Here one has to take into consideration whether the reader is to be a native or a foreigner. One hint might be added here, which the authors have not mentioned, but which all who are concerned in the printing of native texts soon learn: namely, that it is infinitely cheaper to print tone marks in front of, rather than over, the syllables to which they apply, and, provided they are not too large, they will not interfere with the word division, and are actually easier to read. A. N. TUCKER.

### Kultur und Umwelt der Kleinwüchsigen in Afrika.

Von Dr. Wilhelm Immenroth. (Studien zur Völkerkunde, B and C.) Leipzig: Verlag der Werkgemeinschaft. (Brüderstrasse, 19, C. 1.), 1933. 9 x 6 in., 380 pp., map. Price RM. 7. **121**

The author, in this thesis handed in for his Göttingen doctorate, would seem to have exploited every available source of information concerning the African Pygmies and Bushmen—for whom he has evolved a comprehensive designation with no satisfactory English equivalent. ("Small-stature peoples" can scarcely be accepted.) His conclusion as to the relation between these peoples is that they are "lokal getrennte Gruppen" "einer einheitlichen kleinwüchsigen Rasse," their very marked divergences having arisen through long-continued difference of environment.

After a general introduction, the two groups are treated separately in more or less parallel fashion, most of the subsections corresponding exactly (e.g., 'Umwelt,' 'Ehe und Familie,' 'Charakter und geistige Anlagen,' etc.); but '5. Wirtschaftsform' of the Pygmies is wanting in the Bushman section (though some of the facts relevant to this are to be found under other headings), and the heading 'Sprache und Erzählungen' of the latter is absent from the former, perhaps because Dr. Immenroth had practically completed his work before the appearance of P. Schebesta's recent studies of the Efe Pygmies. (He was, however, able to rewrite his chapter on 'Religious Ideas' in the light of Schebesta's work.) For the western Pygmy tribes, he has utilized to the full the invaluable material collected by P. Trilles. For the Bushmen, the researches of (among others) Dorman, Vedder, Schapera, Doke, Burkitt, Pösch and Miss D. F. Bleek (to name only some of the most recent) have been laid under contribution. A final chapter sums up the author's conclusions as to the origin and early history of the Bushmen. Hassanein Bey is quoted as to the rock-paintings and carvings of the Jebel Owenat, which are said closely to resemble those of the Bushmen—but there is no reference to those of the Western Sahara (Adrar Ahnet) recently described by Monod. Dr. Immenroth is of opinion that theories as to the relationship between the Bushmen and the Palaeolithic artists of Europe are still in the nature of unproved hypotheses, though he considers it possible that—as suggested by Obermaier and Kühn—a people existed in the late Quaternary period, in Northern and Central Africa, from whom the artists of the Ice Age branched off in one direction, and the Bushmen in another. The Bushman culture has had an entirely different development from that of the Pygmies and cannot be regarded as a variant of the latter. "Die Kultur der Kleinwüchsigen in Afrika zeigt zwei verschiedene, räumlich getrennte Formen, die sich ihrer Umwelt in hohem Masse angepasst erweisen, die aber durch die Umwelt allein nicht in ihrer Eigenheit bedingt sind, sondern vermutlich zwei zeitlich verschiedene Stufen der Menschheitsentwicklung darstellen." A. W.

**PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.****Functional Affinities of Man, Monkeys, and Apes.**

**122** By S. Zuckerman, M.A., D.Sc., M.R.C.S. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1933. Price 10s. 6d.

Dr. Zuckerman remarks that "general interest demands the constant re-telling of the tale of human evolution." In this illuminating book, however, the author approaches the problems of Man's relation to other animals from what is comparatively a fresh point of view. Until recently, these problems were approached mainly from the morphological aspect, degrees of affinity being assessed by similarity of anatomical structure. From time to time attempts have been made to test the conclusions of the morphologist by reference to physiological and biochemical evidence, often with extremely interesting results. Dr. Zuckerman has now collected together all the available data which do not strictly come within the realm of morphology with the object of seeing how far they throw light on the evolution of Man. Many of his conclusions are based on his personal observations of the behaviour and physiology of the lower Primates, a detailed record of which is available in the numerous scientific monographs which he has published in recent years.

In general, the functional characters of the Primates confirm the evidence of comparative anatomy in rather a striking way. In their structure, the lemurs show themselves to be quite an aberrant group. In their reproductive habits, the serum precipitin reaction of their blood, and in their visual processes, they are also markedly divergent from the higher Primates. The New and Old World monkeys contrast strongly in hematological characters and in the menstrual cycle, indicating a long period of phylogenetic independence. The existence of four blood groups among the anthropoid apes cuts them off sharply from the catarrhine monkeys. The iso-agglutinogens of the red blood cells of the anthropoid apes are specifically the same as those of Man. Observations of this kind are sufficiently important to demand the closest attention of students of Anthropology, with whatever field of this science they may be particularly concerned. Dr. Zuckerman deals in the same fashion with the evidence derived from the study of behaviour patterns, hybridization, susceptibility to diseases and parasitic infections, cortical physiology, and the psychological measure of the intelligence. His book is supplied with an exceptionally full bibliography and numerous excellent photographs. It is, indeed, a work which merits description as a brilliant exposition of one of the most important aspects of study relating to the origin and evolution of Man. Anthropologists will require to familiarize themselves with its contents if they wish to be conversant with the less well-known but no less essential lines of research bearing on the problem of Man's place in Nature. W. E. LE G. CLARK.

**Zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses: Gesetz und Erklärungen.**

**123** By Drs. A. Gütt, E. Rüdin, F. Rutke. München, Lehmann, 1934. Price 6 Marks.

The law for the prevention of hereditarily defective offspring by sterilization which came into effect on 1st January, 1934, is presented by the authors in this volume of 272 pages, giving the full text and schedules with explanatory comment.

The preface and introduction give an exposition of the current views on the mendelian mechanism of heredity with examples of hereditary diseases. The relative simplicity, for legal preventive purposes, of diseases in which the hereditary factors are dominant (e.g., Huntington's chorea) is contrasted with the much

more complicated problems presented by those transmitted by recessive factors. In the dominant group only those presenting the disease need be dealt with for preventive purposes. In the recessive, apparently healthy offspring may carry the recessive factor and transmit the disease to their offspring. (Deaf-mutism, glaucoma, schizo-phrenia.)

The scheduled diseases against which the law can be invoked are: congenital feeble-mindedness, schizo-phrenia, folie circulaire, hereditary epilepsy, Huntington's chorea, congenital blindness, congenital deafness, severe hereditary bodily anomalies and subjects of severe alcoholism.

Special courts and appeal courts are set up with provision for inclusion of experts in heredity and psychiatry. The limitations and safeguards against abuse seem to be well thought out and adequate, given proper administration.

Habitual and sexual criminals are excluded. These are dealt with by the criminal courts under the Act, 24th November, 1933, which provides for their emasculation in certain circumstances.

Chapters on approved methods of sterilization of males and females, and for emasculation of males are appended. J. A. MURRAY.

**The Skeleton of British Neolithic Man.** By John Cameron, M.D., D.Sc. London: Williams and Norgate, Ltd., 1934. Price 15s.

**124** With the increasing number of discoveries which have been made in recent years, the subject of palaeoanthropology is becoming so extensive and specialized that the general student of anthropology finds it difficult to keep in touch with the progress of knowledge relating to fossil Man. Dr. Cameron's book comprises a most useful survey of the anatomy of Neolithic Man in Britain, which will be much appreciated by those whose main interests have been concentrated on other phases of human history. He gives a lucid and well-balanced account, from the anatomist's point of view, of the Neolithic population of Britain, including a detailed discussion of the significance of certain features of the limb skeleton which were characteristic of these people. He also includes an account of certain river-bed skulls which perhaps, from the uncertainty of their age, should have been omitted, though it is instructive to be able to compare these skulls with those of known Neolithic age. A chapter dealing with the humeri of the ancient slingers of Minorca is of special interest as showing how the contour of these bones may be affected by usage. From the fact that their unusual features were apparently equally developed on the right and left side, we must confess to some doubt whether they are entirely to be related to the use of the sling, but Dr. Cameron's suggestions at least deserve the closest attention. Of some importance is the question of the relation of the modern British population to the Neolithic inhabitants of this country. Dr. Cameron draws attention to the fact that the statistical anthropologists have not been in agreement in their answer to this question. Macdonell, in 1904, reached the conclusion that the London city crania—from Whitechapel and Moorfields (seventeenth-century people)—are far more closely allied to the Long Barrow type than to any other. On the other hand, Hooke and Morant, with the use of Pearson's coefficient of racial likeness, found that the Whitechapel crania are considerably more closely associated with the Iron Age and Anglo-Saxon types. At the end of his book, Dr. Cameron gives a census of all the Neolithic and other ancient skeletal material in museums in Great Britain, which he has compiled with the assistance of Miss Tildesley. This list will be of the greatest value to research workers of the future. W. E. LE G. CLARK.







FIG. 1. THE HEAD SOON AFTER IT HAD BEEN TAKEN AND CURED.



FIG. 2. THE SAME HEAD THREE MONTHS LATER, HELD BY MAN WHO TOOK IT. IN THIS CASE IT WAS NOT KEPT OVER SMOKED FIRE.



FIG. 3. NATIVES FROM SUKI CREEK WITH CASSOWARY.



FIG. 4. NATIVES FROM SUKI CREEK WITH CEREMONIAL DRUMS.

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

#### New Guinea.

#### With Plate G.

Sharp.

**Gumakari People of the Suki Creek, New Guinea.** *By H. H. Sharp, late Government Medical Service, Papua: communicated by Professor T. C. Hodson, Cambridge.*

Suki, as far as can be understood, is a foreign name applied to the creek draining the lagoons and marshes which the Gumak, Titimtaru and Nausaku peoples inhabit. These lagoons and marshes, which cover an area of approximately 120 to 140 square miles, are enclosed by grass and light forest country. The people who inhabit this area are called Wiram by natives in the south-west, but the name Gumakari—which is the real name of the stream Suki—is probably the correct tribal name. All three, Titimtaru, Gumak and Nausaku, speak the one tongue. The estimated population of the three villages is in the vicinity of four hundred.

The Gumakari people have inhabited this area for at least the last eighty years, for through a prisoner, named Ganga, was traced four generations—the second-born of this genealogical line having been born near the present site of Nausaku village. The first-born of this same line gave as his birthplace Ubu, somewhere on the upper reaches of the Fly river, so that at some period over eighty years ago the Gumakari migrated down the Fly to their present place of abode.

*Life.*—Dancing, head-hunting and the hunting of game are their main occupations. There is comparatively little gardening, the people subsisting mainly on sago, game and a crustacean that is obtainable in large quantities from the lagoons.

Hereditary chieftainship seems to exist in a more virile form than it was at first thought possible. A chief is always rendered certain respect; he is the controller of the cultural lives of the people, and so holds a power that seems remarkable. A Government officer once asked one of the prisoners what would happen to him if he was ordered by the chief to go and kill a man and refused to do so. His reply was, "I would go." Refusal to do the chief's bidding did not seem to enter his mind. A legend has been told in which is described the birth of the Gumakari people from an abscess in the back of an old man.

*Women accompanying Raiders.*—The fact of the women accompanying the raiders on the last Weredai raid was no exception—information being to the effect that they always went with the men, mainly to make sago and keep the party in food. It is alleged that on the last raid the women assisted in the killing of some Weredai who had escaped into the water.



FIG. 5. HEAD HUNTERS: SUKI CREEK.

*Head-hunting.*—Head-hunting plays a most important part in the lives of these people, and is a religion with them. Ganga of Gumak, one of the recent Weredai raiders, claims to have taken seven heads in his lifetime. Though Weredai have contributed heavily in recent years to this culture, the real hunting grounds of the Gumakari are higher up the Fly. They, of course, receive reciprocal visits from the people up-river. There are no recognized laws in this game; treachery and friendliness go hand in hand; the raiders of to-day provide the heads of to-morrow; and so the game has been played down the years. One would require a wide knowledge of these people before speaking freely on the subject of this peculiar custom. The reason for the last Weredai massacre was that there were five young widows in the tribe—two in Nausaku and three in Pipitaru—who, by the laws of the people, were forbidden sexual intercourse and the flesh of kangaroo until heads had been taken. The heads were taken, and it was reported in Daru that the young women are now with various men of the tribe—not necessarily the ‘big men’ in the raid.

It is alleged that the Gumakari have generally obtained their heads from a nomadic tribe named Sirawa, who live in a huge tract of bamboo-forest country on the eastern bank of the Fly, and somewhere to the north and east of Kwima lagoon. They build no villages nor make gardens, and they never camp for more than a few days on the one spot. “They make no tracks,” says Ganga, “we have to look for them in the bamboo. Sometimes we do not find them, for they live just like ‘bush pigs.’” Approximate habitat of these people is difficult to show, but Ganga is one personally acquainted with the locality.

*Curing of Heads.*—When a head is taken the victim is killed, if possible, by blows on the body. In some instances the head is removed while the victim is alive, and old experienced hunters never break a head. The heads are always carried back to the villages of the raiders in their natural state. This is done with a cane sling (*tigi*), which holds the head by a loop through the throat and mouth. One of their ‘head songs’—which they sing on the way back from a raid—was heard; it was of a mournful tune, and was something about ‘The dogs are crying.’



FIG. 6. CURED HEADS AS RECEIVED AT DARU.

On return to the village the raiders display the newly-acquired heads for all to see in a big ceremonial dance that is held. The dance lasts all night, and when it is over the heads are given to special men of the village for curing. The head, by this time, is in a very advanced stage of decomposition, but this does not, it was asserted, affect the skill of the curer. The hair is firstly removed, then the skin—the latter by making a cut from the nape of the neck to the centre of the scalp. After carefully scraping the skin and removing all adhering flesh, it is placed in the sun to dry. The skull is treated in a like manner—the brains being drawn from their cavity by the teeth of the curer. Skin and skull are left in the sun for one day only—just sufficient to dry both—and at night are placed on a platform to smoke. The following morning the cavities in the skull are filled with mud, and a bamboo frame—to keep the profile in form—is made running from the base of the skull, across the top, and meeting an artificial lower jaw—also of bamboo. It is this frame that gives the head such an elongated appearance. The frame completed, the skin is drawn over and a filling of dried grass is stuffed hard between skin and skull, to tauten the skin and prevent further decomposition. The skin is then sewn up by the original cut at the back of the head.

Ears and nose are kept in form on the head. After two days of smoking, the head is ready to be decorated and hung up in the house of the owner. These heads always smell disagreeably, and if left in an unused house for any length of time invite the attention of bugs and ants. Two or three years is the period a head will remain in good condition; after they have been kept for such a period they are buried in the forest. No ceremonial is attached.

H. H. SHARP.

## Race.

Morant.

**A Biometrician's View of Race in Man.** By G. M. Morant, D.Sc., Department of Eugenics, University College, London.

## (i) Introduction.

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The importance of the racial factor in anthropology scarcely needs to be emphasized, and it must be admitted that unless some practical method of discriminating and measuring the affinities of different races of man can be devised there can be little hope of tracing the course of human evolution in any detail. The fact that marked physical differences are often found between groups of people inhabiting different parts of the world will not be denied by anyone, but when it comes to saying exactly what is meant by race and how the problems which involve the idea of race may be handled in practice there is a marked diversity of opinion. The following is an attempt to explain the ideas on this question which are used by a biometrician. No rigid definition is aimed at. In practice, at least, we are continually talking about race without reference to any rigid definition of the term and there is some excuse for this as it may be necessary to handle a thing for some time before being able to say exactly what it is. An approach to the subject entirely from the practical side—so that as few as possible *a priori* assumptions regarding the nature of the material are made—may appear to be logically unjustifiable, but if such a procedure leads to useful results it is, in fact, sufficiently justified and a more logical interpretation may come later.

The concept of race in man is best considered first, not with reference to total populations—for which anthropological data are never available—but in terms of groups (or 'samples' as they are usually called) from total populations. A procedure is required which can be used in practice. Ideally it may be stated that if two samples taken at random from two different racially homogeneous assemblies of people are such that certain physical characters of the individuals forming one sample do not differ from those of the individuals forming the other sample to a greater extent than would be expected as a result of chance selection, then the two samples may be considered to represent the same race and hence, in default of other evidence, the two assemblies from which they were taken may be considered to belong to the same race. Considerable elucidation and some modification of such a definition of racial identity is needed before it can be applied in practice. It is first necessary to specify the characters which can be used legitimately for such a purpose, the ways in which they may be compared and the criteria by aid of which a sample may be recognized as having been drawn at random from a racially homogeneous population.

(ii) *The Choice of Characters to be used in Racial Comparisons.*

The physical characters which can be most profitably used for the purpose of investigating racial identity or divergence are determined primarily from experience of data collected for them, but partly, also, from theoretical considerations. Their choice becomes modified as our knowledge extends and, in the present state of our knowledge, the best characters to use must be considered those which give the most reasonable results. It is probable that the vast majority of physical characters—both morphological and physiological—are capable of making some racial distinctions, and it is, in fact, unusual to find any such characters which appear to be constant for all modern races of man. But characters are obviously of unequal value and the evidence of some—such as body weight, for example—may be positively misleading when the purpose in view is to unravel phylogenetic relationships. Experience has shown repeatedly that no single character, or group of a small number of characters, is capable of providing any solution of this problem which can be considered at all reasonable and the fact that such limited evidence is likely to mislead entirely can easily be demonstrated. If a number of characters *known to be of racial significance* are used in the comparison of samples drawn from two widely divergent racial populations—a Western European and an Oriental, say—then it will usually be found that several, if not the majority, of the chosen characters will fail to distinguish the two samples and the evidence for dissimilarity will depend entirely on the few remaining. But if these few had been omitted it might have been concluded that the two samples represented the same race, which would be a highly unreasonable result. The same will be found in a similar comparison of another pair of samples drawn from any other two widely divergent populations, but the incidence of distinguishing and non-distinguishing characters will be different. The inter-racial correlations

between the characters believed to be of greatest racial significance are usually not high, and pairs of such characters may be found which are quite uncorrelated inter-racially. This observed state of affairs emphasizes the essential need, which is often not appreciated, for basing racial classification on the evidence provided by a considerable number of characters. It is usually found that the results become more reasonable according as the number of characters, considered in conjunction, on which they are based is increased. The realization of this need, which may be illustrated in another way, is of vital importance. There will be little danger in assuming that the racial history of modern man since Neolithic times, say, has been extremely complex. If a three-dimensional model representing it can be imagined it would resemble a web of irregular pattern rather than a ramifying tree, since the crossing between different branches must have occurred frequently. The most valuable single character can only arrange the races in a linear order and this obviously cannot represent their inter-relationships. The two-dimensional arrangement provided by two characters will also be far too simple and the evidence of ten or more characters of racial significance may be needed before it will be possible to obtain any clear picture of the actual situation.

(a) *Skeletal Characters.*

The choice of characters which can be made in practice may now be considered. The populations from which samples can be drawn are of two kinds, viz. dead and living, and these must be dealt with separately. In the case of the former the characters may be chosen from among all relating to the skeleton, though actually, for a variety of reasons, there are far more data available for the cranium<sup>1</sup> than for all other parts of the skeleton put together. These are of a quantitative nature, comprising measurements of the size and shape of the cranium as a whole and of all its principal parts. It is found that the vast majority of these quantitative characters differ in their averages from race to race, though with very varying degrees of significance. Most of the inter-racial correlations between them are not high. A certain selection of all the quantitative cranial characters is made, for practical or theoretical reasons, and according to one technique which has been quite extensively used 31 are retained for the purpose of comparing different samples. The evidence of all these 31 is taken into account, whenever possible, in estimating whether two samples may be considered to represent the same race or not. It is suggested that when in the comparison of two samples all these characters show differences which are no larger than ones which can be attributed to chance selection in drawing the samples—i.e., in statistical terms when they show no 'significant' differences—and when the necessary conditions regarding the nature of the samples are fulfilled, then it will be safe to assume that *as far as can be told from the available evidence* the two samples represent the same race. Such a conclusion will be of little value if the samples are too small, but it is found in practice that it can be relied on with safety for samples made up by 50 or more crania. The ultimate justification for the procedure indicated lies in the fact that it gives reasonable results. As an example of what is meant by an unreasonable result, one may take the case of small samples, each made up by fewer than 20 individuals, say. It is usually found for a sample of this size that it cannot be distinguished from three or four other and larger samples which can be distinguished from one another and which are hence supposed to represent different races. This is a clear indication that the evidence is insufficient to decide to which particular race the small sample belongs. By applying the method indicated, cranial samples made up by 50 or more individuals have never been judged to represent the same race except in cases where such identity was to be expected owing to what was otherwise known of the sources from which the samples were drawn, or when the cause of the postulated racial identity could be reasonably explained. Cases of samples of the sufficient size indicated believed to represent distinctly different races and showing no significant differences for the selected characters have not hitherto been met with in several thousand comparisons. One objection to this test of racial identity may be made. The cranium is only part of the skeleton and surely all parts ought to be taken into consideration in order to make the test as efficient and conclusive as possible. Precisely the same method could be applied equally well to a group of characters representing all the principal parts of the skeleton, but this is not as yet a practical proposition owing to lack of data. The material for the

<sup>1</sup> *Cranium* is used here to denote the whole skeleton of the head except the lower jaw.



lower jaw is rather more extensive than that available for any other part of the skeleton except the cranium. When it is dealt with alone the test for racial identity appears to break down. Samples composed of 50 or more individuals believed to represent two distinctly different races may occasionally be found such that they show no significant differences between any of the selected characters. This may mean that samples of a larger size than any at present available are needed in order to secure an effective test of racial differentiation, or that the characters used are not the best for the purpose, or that the mandible *alone* is in fact incapable of providing an effective solution to the problem.

There is a further point of considerable interest. The selected measurements of the cranium may be somewhat arbitrarily divided into two groups, one relating to the facial skeleton and the other to the brain-box. If either group is dealt with separately the test appears to break down again. Samples believed to represent distinctly different races may occasionally be found to have all the selected characters of the facial skeleton undifferentiated, or to have all the characters of the brain-box undifferentiated, but never to have all the characters of both kinds undifferentiated. The consideration of both groups of characters in conjunction is thus essential in order to secure an effective test of racial identity and the inclusion of data relating to other parts of the skeleton as well, when this becomes possible, will obviously be an added advantage, though not, perhaps, an essential condition. The choice of characters which can be used most effectively for the purpose required will doubtless become modified as our knowledge increases.

(b) *Characters of the Living.*

The available characters which can be used to test racial identity and which relate to individuals forming samples from living populations may be grouped as: (a) head and body measurements; (b) hair, skin and eye colours, observations on the form and texture of the hair, and special characters such as the epicanthic fold and steatopygia; (c) physiological measurements. The majority of the usual anthropometric measurements which have been recorded for the purpose of aiding racial comparisons provide indirect measures of the lengths and proportions of different parts of the skeleton. Unfortunately they are more difficult to record with accuracy than are skeletal measurements and, owing to the lack of standardization in the techniques that have been employed, many of the comparisons that have been made between such samples are of doubtful value. It may be presumed, however, that valid comparisons can usually be made between samples recorded by the same observer, or by a group of observers working together. The test for racial identity is then the same as for the cranium after a suitable choice of the available characters has been made, though the total number it is possible to use is generally more restricted for the living samples. The numbers are usually larger for living individuals than for skeletal samples, however, which is a great advantage. So far as it has been possible to apply the method to living material, it has hitherto yielded reasonable results. The fact that skeletal measurements—whether found directly or from the living body—have proved to give satisfactory estimates of racial identity or divergence is doubtless due to their stability. It is known—mainly from the study of Egyptian material—that the cranial type of a population may persist with very slight modification for some thousands of years. Skin and eye colours and the colour and other characters of the hair are obviously valuable racial criteria, but there are, as yet, no large body of exact data relating to them. By themselves they clearly provide insufficient evidence to establish racial identity, but they may profitably be used in conjunction with anthropometric characters. The case of physiological measurements is, perhaps, rather different. Sufficient data from which a judgment of their value could be obtained appear to be only available as yet for blood-groups. It has been shown that these make well-marked racial distinctions, but it does not follow necessarily that they will hence be found to be of any value in aiding the unravelment of racial relationships and, indeed, it is possible that they may mislead in this connection. If the blood-groups fail to distinguish two samples it would clearly be unsafe to conclude from this fact alone that they represent the same race. Most anthropologists are prejudiced, perhaps, in favour of the morphological characters with which they are familiar. They may assume, for example, that skeletal characters are more stable, and hence of greater value, than any physiological characters. The biometrician is not committed to any such theories, and he would say that the ultimate test of the value of blood-groups in particular, and of physiological characters in general, for the particular

purpose in view must demand on whether, when sufficient data have accumulated for them, they will be found to provide reasonable results in practice. Meanwhile the orthodox view that morphological characters are of far more importance in phylogenetic investigations than 'non-morphological,' or functional, characters may still be said to hold the field. Even if blood-groups and other physiological characters do not prove helpful in aiding the particular problem of racial classification, they may still be of great anthropological interest, for they may well be found to be of the utmost importance in connection with problems of racial selection.

(iii) *Methods of Comparison.*

The ways in which the characters selected may be compared can now be considered. Nearly all those referred to above are of a quantitative nature and quantitative expression is capable of being given to characters such as integumentary colours. In recent years the necessity for the use of metrical methods has become more and more realized and, as far as problems connected with the races of modern man are concerned, no other methods are of vital importance. The necessity for statistical treatment of the metrical data has not been so generally recognized hitherto. One of Quetelet's conceptions, however—viz. that of *l'homme moyen*—has been widely used and its usefulness is now beyond question. The 'type' of a sample is that hypothetical individual who possesses all characters equal to the averages given by all the individuals forming the sample and the primary comparison is that between the 'types' of two samples. Absolute equality in the averages is never found, of course, but if, as the result of statistical estimation, there are found to be no differences which are greater than ones which would be expected as the result of chance selection from the same population, then it may be concluded that the two samples represent the same race, as far as this evidence can tell. This result is not one on which reliance can be placed unless the samples are sufficiently large. The method really gives a measure of the probability that the two samples represent the same race, not a *proof* of identity of race, but under certain conditions such probabilities may be used provisionally by the practical worker as if they were definitely established facts. Paramount importance is thus attached to the averages or means of samples, and it may be asked whether other of their features should not also be taken into consideration in a test of racial identity. Some of these features actually have to be considered before it can be concluded that the samples are suitable ones to use for such a test and others are not generally considered in this connection.

(iv) *The Choice of Samples.*

It must next be asked: What criteria can be used to decide whether any sample is a suitable one to use in testing racial identity or divergence? The conditions already stated are that it should have been selected at random and that the population from which it was drawn should be racially homogeneous. The question of random selection may be considered first. The individuals forming the sample must be of one sex only and all must be adult, since most of the characters used show sexual differences and are subject to age changes before maturity is reached. The racial comparison of samples of immature individuals can be made, but this presents a far more difficult problem. Also, the samples should only represent the normal population and this is a more difficult condition to fulfil. Any individuals who are obviously of foreign origin, or who are abnormal in such a way that the characters used are likely to be exceptional for them should be excluded. Skeletons affected by pathological conditions, or hospital and asylum inmates, will thus provide unsuitable material as a rule. But the population remaining, after such obvious cases have been excluded, will not usually be homogeneous as far as the characters on which racial comparisons are to be based are concerned. Certain of its component groups may show differences in these characters which are not due to racial diversity. A sample of soldiers, for example, in a civilized country not possessing a conscript service will form a selected group, and differences may be observed between different social or occupational classes. It frequently happens that samples drawn entirely from one or other of these groups are the only ones available. But the differences between such special parts of the same total population are usually quite small, and if it can be shown that they do not exceed a certain order then it may be concluded that they do not indicate differences of race. It may be found, of course, in some cases that samples drawn from two different classes, say, are so divergent that they must be supposed to represent different

racess. One other kind of group is likely to show well-marked peculiarities for the selected characters, viz. one made up by a number of individuals belonging to the same family. A racially homogeneous population is always made up by a number of inter-related families which will differ from one another significantly. It is hence necessary to choose samples which are to be used in racial comparisons in such a way that each represents a number of different families and with no single family represented by an appreciably larger proportion of individuals than any other. This condition is necessarily fulfilled if the sample is a large one drawn from a contemporaneous population. Suppose, however, that it is made up by all the people living at one time in a small town. Some blood-related groups may bear appreciable proportions to the total number of individuals and it may be found that the sample does differ significantly from other small samples representing neighbouring towns. It is generally not necessary to conclude in such cases that there are different races represented in each town, but only that there are local variants of the same race.

(v) *Tests of Racial Homogeneity.*

Finally, a definition is required of racial homogeneity and the practical aspects of this conception may be considered first. It has been stated that in order to test whether two samples represent the same race it is necessary that each should have been drawn from a racially homogeneous population. We appear to be reasoning in a circle, but practical experience may be appealed to in order to settle on a *point d'appui*. The necessity for stating that the samples must be drawn from populations which are racially homogeneous can be readily appreciated. Suppose for a moment that we know exactly what is meant by a homogeneous race and that two samples are available each of which is made up by a number of individuals representing a number of different races, and the populations of some towns in the United States can be imagined to provide such samples. These samples may not differ significantly in any of their mean characters, but it would obviously be fallacious to conclude that they represent the same racially homogeneous population. If only one sample from a particular population is available, then the question of whether this population is racially homogeneous or not can only be answered from an examination of this single sample. It is at this point that an appeal must be made to practical experience. Numerous samples are available which are *believed* to have been drawn at random from populations which are *believed* to be racially homogeneous. The nature of these samples makes it possible to decide whether a new sample has been drawn in the same way from a similarly constituted population. It is frequently found that a collection of individuals for which the required data are available can be conveniently divided into several sub-groups. A series of Anglo-Saxon crania, for example, which has been derived from a number of cemeteries in different parts of England used at different periods may make it possible to compare different local, regional or secular sub-groups, if the number of individuals represented is large enough, or archaeological evidence may suggest other sub-divisions. Such sub-groups are first compared with one another and if no significant differences can be found between them they are pooled to provide a sample which is to be used in racial comparisons. More abundant material may become available later and it may then be found that there are significant differences between the sub-groups, but at the time their pooling is justified as far as the available evidence can tell. The samples now referred to are so constituted that no significant differences can be found between the constituent parts into which they can be naturally divided. Any pair of such samples taken from populations inhabiting different countries, say, will generally show some mean measurements which differ very significantly, but experience has shown that they tend to be alike in showing approximately equal variabilities. The relative degrees of variability of two samples can only be estimated with safety by comparing certain constants of variation in the case of *all* the characters available and if any selection of these is used the conclusion may be misleading. The *approximate* equality in variability of samples of the kind indicated is a striking fact. Those derived from civilized and primitive communities usually show some significant differences in variability, but still only small absolute differences. The most marked exceptions are found for samples from communities which are known to have been segregated for considerable periods, such as certain island peoples, and for these the variation shown may be appreciably smaller than for other samples. Series showing peculiarly large variation are occasionally found. This experience makes it possible to formulate a test to ascertain whether a new sample may be considered to represent

a racially homogeneous population or not. Having first shown that the sub-groups of the new sample—if any can be distinguished—show no significant differences in mean values, its constants of variation are then compared with those of the available samples believed to represent racially homogeneous populations which are believed to be similar in constitution to the population from which the new sample was obtained. A sample from a Western European country, for example, would be compared with other European samples, or, when possible, with other samples from the same country, while one from a Polynesian island would be compared with any available from other Polynesian islands. If the new sample is found to be appreciably less variable than the other samples with which it may be compared, it will be suspected that it was selected in some particular way and not at random, and if appreciably more variable it must be concluded that the new sample does not represent a racially homogeneous population. But if no appreciable differences in variability are found the new sample will be accepted as representing a racially homogeneous population. Such a test is not a rigid one, and absolute equality in variation cannot be insisted on, but its application leads to reasonable results in practice. It is concluded that the majority of samples which are available may be considered to represent racially homogeneous populations and the variability of such samples is actually very considerable. They lead to the result that for the majority of characters used intra-racial variability is usually greater—and for some characters very considerably greater—than inter-racial variability, that is to say, the individuals belonging to the same racially homogeneous population show greater differences, on the average, than those found between different racial types. Such a conclusion does not invalidate the methods used as it may be supposed due to the essential nature of the material. It might be suggested that before a sample is accepted as representing a homogeneous racial population some condition other than that of its variability being of a certain order should also be fulfilled. Other tests suggested for this purpose have not been of much aid in practice, however. One which has been discussed is that of the form of the distributions given by metrical characters. Quetelet was the first to show that the normal curve of errors is often capable of giving a close representation of the distributions shown by series of anthropometric data and this has been amply verified from the material collected since his day. The distributions given by samples presumed to represent a single race are almost invariably approximately normal in form. But the same will often be observed for samples which are known to be racially heterogeneous. The test of normality is thus of little value for the particular purpose in view, though the racial homogeneity of a sample would certainly be suspect if it failed to give approximately normal distributions. Bi-modal distributions have been discussed in this connection as affording evidence of racial heterogeneity, but actually they have hardly ever been met with in anthropometric practice. The evidence of correlations found between pairs of metrical characters for a particular sample does not appear to aid the purpose in view.

(vi) *The Presumed Nature of Racial Populations.*

A biometrician's conception of race in man is derived primarily from the statistical study of samples of the kinds discussed above. His methods are essentially descriptive and they do not presuppose any particular theory of individual or racial inheritance. They may become modified—and the choice of characters will almost certainly become modified—as knowledge increases. Having learnt to handle the material in a way which appears to lead to profitable results, the biometrician postulates certain theories with regard to the races of modern man. He supposes that every one of these has been derived from very diverse elements. Inter-marriage between a number of families of different and, possibly, very diverse origins for several generations—a process which usually, but not necessarily, takes place in a particular region—leads to a population with distinctive and stable characters which is said to constitute a homogeneous race. The existence of such a population is indicated by an analysis of samples taken from it. The diverse elements from which a racially homogeneous population sprang cannot be estimated by any direct means, but it may be possible to estimate them by comparing the characters of samples representing the population considered as a whole with those of samples from other similarly constituted populations. It is here that a fundamental difference must be noted from anthropologists who endeavour to distinguish ancestral types in a miscegenated group. The possibility of being able to differentiate, from a study of physical characters, the diverse racial origins of individuals whose ancestors have



inter-married for a considerable number of generations is definitely questioned by the biometrician. He would say that, properly speaking, the conception of race does not apply to individuals except in so far as they are members of a group of inter-marrying families. The individual is the unit, as in a census return, but problems of race are essentially concerned with groups. Most samples available have to be accepted as representing racially homogeneous populations and they show very considerable variability. The wide range of intra-racial variation is sometimes supposed to vitiate the whole conception of race applied to modern populations—and such variation is an essential feature of the material—but it does not in fact invalidate the conception of racially homogeneous groups. The biometrician does not speak of a "pure race" and it is not clear how such a term could be defined with reference to modern man. Finally, it may be pointed out that the methods of comparing samples discussed above do not always lead to the conclusion that one particular racially homogeneous population can always be clearly distinguished from all others. It may be found that two adjoining populations grade into one another and that no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between them. This condition can easily be explained as being due to varying grades of blood-admixture between representatives of the two racial populations.

G. M. MORANT.

### Spear-Throwing.

Curwen.

**Spear-Throwing with a Cord.** By E. Cecil Curwen, M.A., F.S.A.

Throwing a light spear or javelin by means of a cord is a variant of the method of using a throwing-stick. Both devices greatly increase the effective range of the missile by virtually lengthening the arm, so that during the act of throwing the spear passes through an arc of a much larger circle than would otherwise be the case.

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A throwing-cord is of two kinds: (1) it may be fastened to the spear-shaft and be released from the hand at the end of the act of throwing; this kind was used (Professor Henry Balfour tells me)

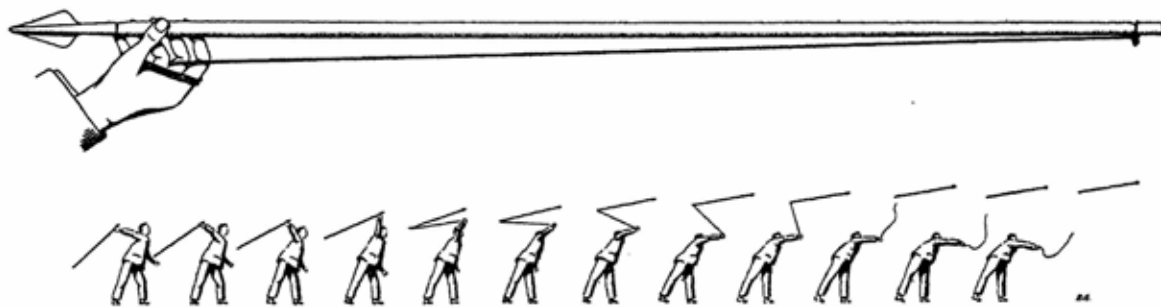


FIG. 1.

by the Romans (*amentum*), Greeks (*ἀγκύλη*), Etruscans, Scandinavians and Irish—by the last-named down to the end of the 17th century; it is still used in Nigeria. (2) The cord may be retained in the hand, releasing itself automatically from the spear at the end of the throw. This form was employed (again on the information of Professor Balfour) by the New Caledonians and by some natives of the New Hebrides, and also in the form of a whip-sling by the Maori. It is the second method which forms the subject of this note, and it is described with the purpose of recording its technique which seems to be very little known in England.

When at school the writer learnt to throw bamboo arrows with paper feathers in this way, and subsequently applied it to throwing a light javelin for amusement. The javelin is about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet long, weighs 13 oz., and is fitted with a cast bronze head. The cord should be 12 to 18 inches longer than the javelin, and has a large knot at one end and a loop at the other. The knotted end is attached to the tail end of the shaft by taking a simple half-hitch round it, the returning cord passing over the knot as shown in the accompanying sketch. A slight notch cut in the shaft here prevents slipping. The right little finger is inserted into the loop at the other end of the cord, and enough turns of the cord passed round the palm and one or more fingers to enable the hand to grasp the spear-shaft close to the head with the cord taut along the shaft (see upper sketch).



The method of throwing is illustrated by the lower diagram which is traced from a slow-motion film of an actual throw. The arm is kept straight, as in bowling at cricket, and not as in throwing a cricket-ball. The shaft is grasped close to the metal head with the tips of the fingers and thumb only, enabling quick release at the right moment. As the hand approaches the vertical position the shaft is released and a steady pull forward on the cord sends the spear flying evenly with great force. As it advances the cord drops off. It is essential to avoid any kind of jerk or flick; it must be a steady swing of the whole body, and the longest throws are the ones entailing the least effort of the arms and shoulders. Naturally it is a question of knack, and some practice is required. The earliest efforts are attended by no little danger to bystanders in all directions.

A good throw will be one of 70 yards or over. Throws over 80 or even 90 yards have been recorded, but are rare. Accuracy in aiming can be developed by practice, but one should begin young. The writer once recorded a direct hit on a target consisting of a bamboo stick at 56 yards, but repetition of the feat cannot be guaranteed.

E. CECIL CURWEN.

### Africa.

**Survivals of the Throwing-knife in Darfur.** By Dr. D. Olderogge, *Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Leningrad.*

Olderogge.

**128** It is usually assumed that the use of the throwing-knife in Darfur is not proved. In any case, on maps supplied with the work of Thomas<sup>1</sup> showing the distribution of this weapon in Sudan, only regions to the west of Darfur (Teda, Sara and many other tribes) and to the east of it (the tribes of the White Nile) are indicated. Darfur is not among these regions. It seems,

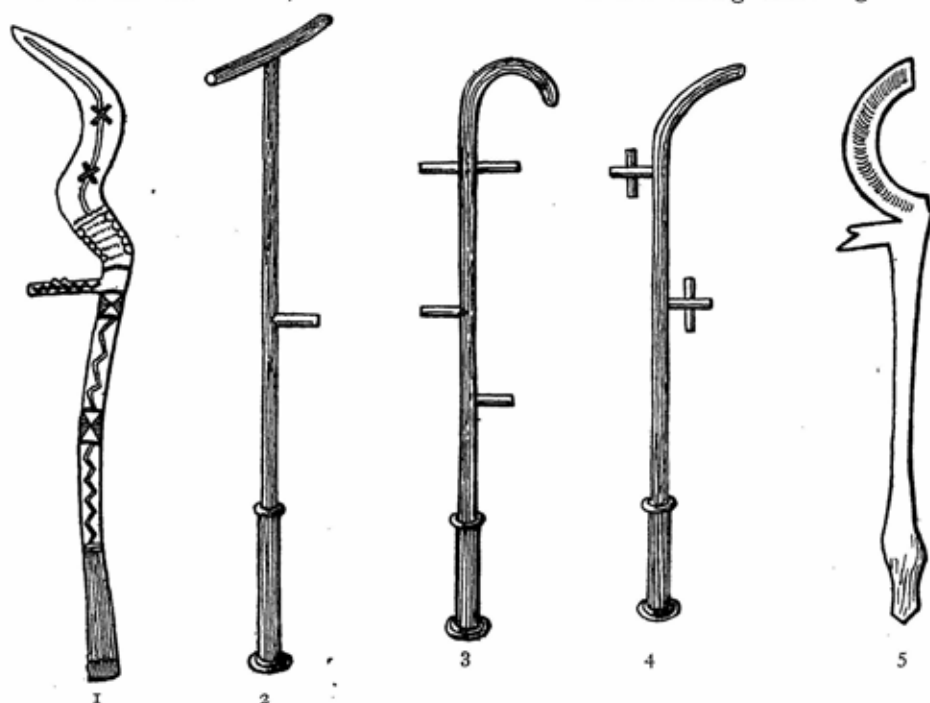


FIG. 1. HAUSA THROWING KNIFE (WOODEN) FROM CENTRAL SUDAN. FIGS. 2, 3, 4. IRON STICKS OF HABBOKAKS "KOURBADJ" (ACCORDING TO THE DRAWINGS OF MOH. ET TUNISI). FIG. 5. "KULBEDA" THROWING KNIFE (BERTAT).

however, that Darfur is not an exception: this throwing weapon was once distributed there also. Some observations of Mohammad Ibn Omar et-Tunisi<sup>2</sup> may be of interest in this case.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas: *The African Throwing-knife*, J.R.A.I., L; <sup>2</sup> Mohammad Ebn-Omar el-Tounsy: *Voyage au* 1925, p. 129ff. Compare also—Schurz: *Das Wurfmesser Darfour*. Traduit par Perron. Paris, 1845. Pp. 160, et suiv.

Among other courtiers of the Sultan of Darfur Mohammad et-Tunisi mentions a certain group of old women called habbobah. Omitting the question (however interesting it may be) of their rôle and meaning, I should like to draw attention to the fact that they, according to Mohammad et-Tunisi, took part in certain ceremonies, during which they used iron sticks of a very peculiar form, making a curious noise by clashing them one against another. Mohammad et-Tunisi gives a drawing of these sticks and informs us that they were called *kourbadj*. The picture itself reveals great resemblance between these sticks and the throwing-knives; they have, however, more geometrical forms.

It can be seen that these sticks are really connected with throwing-knives by their designation *Kurbadj*. The Sudan Arabs, according to Nachtigal, called their throwing-knives *Kurbadsch*. This name is widely spread—for instance, among the Sara tribe these knives are still called *Kurbač*<sup>3</sup>. We meet this term, however, not only in the district of lake Chad. I am inclined to think that the same name is used in Eastern Sudan. The tribes Bedja and Bertat, according to Hartmann and Junker<sup>4</sup>, called their throwing-knives by the name *Kulbeda* or *Qulbeda*. It is obvious, that both these designations—*Kurbadj* and *Kulbeda* (the last with 'Vocalauslaut') are but variants of the same word. Thus all the area of distribution of the throwing-knife is closely connected.

The throwing-knife is still preserved both in the western and the eastern regions of Darfur; in Darfur itself it survives only in court rituals of the Sultan. We can only guess the reasons of the modification and transformation of the throwing-knife from a war weapon into a ritual one. Very likely, that the throwing-knife was once used in Darfur for beating the time in dances. Nachtigal<sup>5</sup>, indeed, shows us that the throwing-knives are used as peculiar musical instruments, making a noise when clashed one against the other.

As a war-weapon the throwing-knife was replaced in Darfur by other weapons brought by the Arabs, and remains only in rituals which evidently had more deeply pre-islamic (may-be pre-arabic) roots.

D. OLDEROGGE

**Excavations at Tell Duweir, Palestine: Wellcome Archæological Research Expedition, 1933-1934.** By J. L. Starkey, Field Director.

The Annual Exhibition of Antiquities from Tell Duweir, Palestine: 1933-1934 Excavations of the Wellcome Archæological Research Expedition to the Near East will be held at 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, 2 July-21 July, 11 to 5 daily, free without tickets; evenings, 4th, 12th, 20th till 8 p.m.

The Wellcome Archæological Research Expedition to the Near East has now concluded the second season at Tell Duweir, Palestine, a site on the edge of the foothills, 25 miles south-west of Jerusalem.

It is now established that the area of Early Copper remains covers at least 150 acres, including the ruins of a large dolmen, which indicates that this site marks a centre of economic life unparalleled as yet in the Shephelah. Its subsequent story records a continuous decrease of population and a corresponding shrinkage of size. When its last phase was reached during the history of Judah, we find that the city was confined to the crest of the Tell and no dwellings have so far been located beyond the outer fortifications.

Across the western valley flanking the Tell, we have examined the upper terrace of a limestone ridge, which was honeycombed with caverns, varying considerably in size. They had all been artificially enlarged and adapted as dwellings in the Early Bronze Age, and re-used at a slightly later date as burial places. Specimens of metal work were rare, a small copper dagger and a few pins belonged to the interments, and a heavy gold bead is unique for this early period, which is contemporary with proto-early dynastic age in Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> Central Mus. of Ethnology in Moscow, Inventory, (Bedja Abu Rôf): Leningrad, Acad. of Sc., Mus. of Ethnography. Nr. 104-40-1-2. (Collection Juncker.)

<sup>4</sup> Hartmann: *Z.f. Ethnol.* 1879, XI Bd. Taf. III, 6

<sup>5</sup> Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, III, 434.

Rough castings in copper from open moulds are among the surface finds, which must be dated to a later phase of the same culture.<sup>1</sup> The pottery was hand made, and the tournette was only used to throw the neck; the ledge, and pierced lug handle, was more usual and, where red hæmatite slip had been used, the surface was pebble burnished. Evidence of finely-woven textiles was shown in the sharp impress inside small pottery bowls. Groups of olive presses, referred to in earlier literature as 'cup marks,' generally occur in close connection with the dwellings.

Lower down on the side of the ridge, a large necropolis, of the latest stage of the same culture, has been worked. The normal type of tomb is a small oval chamber, approached by a shallow shaft, in which the tightly contracted burial was placed, equipped with a dagger, or dart, a tall ovoid water jar, a squat two-handled food vessel, and sometimes an open bowl. This cemetery should be equated in date with Middle Old Kingdom in Egypt.

At the North-west corner of the Tell, we have uncovered a large section of the Hyksos fosse, and the plastered revetment which rose from it. The upper levels of this revetment were partially destroyed by builders of the Iron Age fortifications (Jewish period); we have now traced the outer wall of this later system of defence, which completely encircles the mound. The inner, or city wall, has yet to be cleared, and we have only examined that part adjoining the city gate. The entrance to the city through these later fortifications was up a sloping causeway to an outer gate in the south wall of a bastion at the South-west corner.

The Tell is crowned with the ruins of the Persian residency, superimposed on the much larger palace-fort of the Jewish period. The latter was destroyed late in the sixth century B.C., when the two defence walls were razed and the whole town was burnt.

On the lower slopes at the North-west corner of the mound, rock-cut tombs of the sixth-seventh

centuries B.C. and large chamber tombs of the Middle Bronze Age were cleared. High in the packing of the Hyksos revetment, a tunnel was found and traced to points where it was bisected by the foundations of the Jewish defence wall. The passage is presumably the work of attacking forces, at the close of the Hyksos domination and is reminiscent of the tunnels at Tell el Ajjul.

In the rock, and sealed off by the constructional packing, were tombs of the Early Middle Bronze Age type, containing pottery, including button-base juglets, in red or black ware, with pricked decoration, which are therefore shown to precede these fortifications in time.

Over the lower filling of the fosse, we have discovered a small temple, consisting of a square sanctuary, containing the altar and the shrine



FIG. 1. PART OF LARGE POTTERY EWER, SHOWING COMMENCEMENT OF INSCRIPTION ON DECORATED SHOULDER.



FIG. 2. EIGHTEENTH-NINETEENTH DYNASTY CHAPEL FROM ABOVE, SHOWING ALTAR, SHRINE AND BENCHES. RUBBISH PIT IN RIGHT FOREGROUND.

<sup>1</sup> Samples of all early metal work have been submitted to Dr. C. H. Desch, F.R.S., National Physical Laboratory, Teddington.

behind, with two small store chambers to the south. Free standing benches are arranged on three sides of the sanctuary, which is entered from the north through a narrow ante-room. This building has been burnt out, and the ashes were subsequently consolidated and covered with mud deposit. On the floor of the raised shrine a large collection of toilet utensils in ivory, glass and faience was found, together with scarabs bearing the name of Amenhetep III, notably one of his large commemorative issues recording the killing of 102 lions by the tenth year of his reign. Hundreds of offering bowls, with vessels used in the temple service, were in position on the floor. Particular mention should be made of the bowl for libations on a tall pottery stand, right of the altar, the large pottery bin for meat offerings, to the left, and of a decorated censer and foot laver.

Beyond the south and east wall was a great deposit of refuse from the building, containing fragments of innumerable pottery vessels, masses of animal bones, broken glass, faience, beads, ivory inlay and a hand about three-quarters life size in the latter material. From the upper level of this deposit was a small faience plaque of Rameses II and close to it the greater part of a tall ewer decorated with figures of gazelles, trees and a lion; above is a band of inscription, boldly painted in early Canaanite script, similar to the Beth Shemesh ostrakon on the one hand and the Sinai alphabet on the other. Authorities who have seen the inscription differ in the suggested translation; that it is of a dedicatory nature, and was written from left to right, seems evident, and all are in agreement that the first groups of signs should read M-T-N, 'a gift' or 'offering.'

The destruction of the temple cannot be later than 1262 B.C., but the date of its foundation cannot be ascertained until the lower levels of the structure are examined next season. J. L. STARKEY.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE: PROCEEDINGS.

**Personal Names among the Iatmul Tribe (Sepik River).** *Summary of a Communication presented by G. Bateson, 5 June, 1934.*

The Iatmul tribe is divided into patrilineal moieties, each of which is subdivided into patrilineal clans, and further into unnamed patrilineal lines. Adopted children receive clan membership from both their own father and their adopted father, and later they pass on this double membership to their descendants. In this way it has come about that a large and increasing proportion of individuals are members of two or more clans, and a given individual may even be a member of both moieties. This might seem to offer sufficient possibilities for complication (for which the natives have a pronounced taste), but matters are made still more involved by the effort to preserve matrilineal as well as patrilineal links. Exogamy does not follow any regular pattern, so that any two clans may be linked together by a marriage, and the natives preserve these links over many generations. For example, if two sisters marry into clans A and B respectively, their descendants in those two clans for many generations will regard each other as classificatory brothers. This elaborate linking together of the community is preserved diagrammatically by means of a system of Personal Names, without which, indeed, it would probably be impossible to keep the complications clear. A person has the following sorts of names:—

1. Patrilineal names, from the various clans of which he is a member. These names are repeated from grandfather to grandson, a boy being regarded as a reincarnation of one of his grandfathers, real or classificatory.

2. Matrilineal names, given by the mother's brother. A child may have matrilineal names from several different sources; indeed, it is more especially the distant classificatory mother's brothers who give these names, thereby diagrammatizing the matrilineal links resulting from marriages in the distant past.

3. Patrilineal secret names.

4. Matrilineal initiatory names.

There is a tendency to steal names from other clans, and this leads to a highly-developed

technique of debate in which great erudition is displayed—a man learned in names having several thousand in his head. Those less learned attend the debate, but only take part in the “barracking” and in the brawl which often terminates the proceedings.

**Exchange Marriage and Exogamy.** *Summary of a Communication presented by Mr. F. E. Williams, 19 June, 1934.*

**131** The Keraki people of the Morehead District (Papua) practise marriage by exchange, a man normally giving his sister to obtain a wife. The contract is virtually one between two local groups, and it is scrupulously honoured. A deserting bride is not given refuge by her people but is sent back to her husband, and repeated desertions may be visited by severe penalties. It is plain that the fulfilment of the exchange is regarded as of high importance.

But over and above this there is an institution of Sister-Purchase. Purchase of brides is unknown, but a man without a sister of his own can buy a classificatory sister (of the same moiety but another group) in order to exchange her for a wife. It is as if exchange were made an end in itself.

What is the point of this apparent idealization of exchange? Exchange of girls is to be compared with other kinds of exchange, e.g., of garden food, pig flesh, ornaments, etc. They are often economically senseless, but they serve a sound purpose, viz., that of bringing the contracting parties into close connection, establishing relations and confirming them. They are mutual gifts and thus gestures of friendship.

If the exchange of girls (the supreme gift) falls into line with the other exchanges, then we are provided with a reason for it. Men might marry their own sisters just as they might live entirely on the produce of their own gardens. But they give them away in order to establish relations with other groups, to forestall hostility and avoid isolation.

If it is felt to be desirable to exchange girls in order to set up these relations then it is undesirable that they should marry at home, i.e., the group becomes exogamous. This thesis regarding the origin and function of exogamy depends on *extra-group* rather than *intra-group* relations. The rule that girls must not marry in derives from the feeling that they should marry out.

**Anthropology and the Practical Man: Presidential Address.** *Delivered by Rev. E. W. Smith, 26 June, 1934.*

**132** Fifty years ago Dr. W. H. Flower declared that the importance of Ethnography could hardly be overestimated in an Empire like ours, but it was only at a later date that Government recognized the value of continuous study of the native institutions in order that action should be based upon adequate knowledge. The impetus has largely come from practical men, who first realized the necessity. Anthropology is not only necessary as a help in personal dealings with the people; it can assist in the formation and application of policy. This has been proved where the establishment of Indirect Rule has been preceded by prolonged anthropological research. Anthropology is of proved value to missionaries, and training in the subject becomes still more necessary in view of the new attitude of missions towards traditional culture. In spite of the way in which Anthropology has justified itself in the field of practical endeavour, it is still criticized as remote from actualities. Whatever may be said of the past, this cannot reasonably be said to-day, particularly in view of recent developments such as the Functional Method and the studies now undertaken of the African-in-transition. The criticism that Anthropology seeks to stereotype the past, and not simply to record it, is also baseless. Anthropology can express no value-judgments. Previous warnings against yoking Anthropology to politics, etc., are still needed. Anthropology must not allow itself to be used in favour of policies of discrimination.



## OBITUARY.

**Henri Alexandre Junod : born 17 May, 1863 : died 22 April, 1934.**

Henri Alexandre Junod, an Honorary Fellow of the Institute, died in Geneva at the age of 71 on April 22, 1934. Born at Saint

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Martin, Switzerland, in May 1863, he was educated at Neuchâtel, Basle and Berlin, entered the ministry in 1885, and after a brief pastorate in Switzerland sailed in 1889 for Portuguese East Africa in the service of the Swiss Romande Mission. With intervals of furlough he remained in Africa until 1920. For a large part of this time he conducted a Training School, first at Shiluvane, in the Transvaal, and later at Rikatla, 18 miles to the north of Lourenço Marques. His interest at first, outside his missionary work, lay in entomology and linguistics. He published a grammar of Ronga in 1896. Conversations with Mr. James Bryce, who visited him at Lourenço Marques, shortly before this date, turned his attention definitely to ethnography. In 1897 his collection of Folklore was issued under the title of *Chants et les contes des Baronga*, and this was followed in 1898 by *Les Baronga*, published with the help of the Geographical Society of Neuchâtel. It contained material gathered amongst the Baronga of Delagoa Bay. Thereafter he pursued his studies amongst the northern clans of the Thonga in the Transvaal. In 1909 he commenced a long furlough in Switzerland, which was occupied mainly in preparing his great book, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, in English. This was published in 1912 in two volumes; a revised and enlarged edition appeared in 1927. It at once took, and has maintained, a foremost place among the books which describe African life. The University of Lausanne conferred on its author the D.Litt. Besides numerous articles in scientific journals and several notable linguistic manuals, Dr. Junod also wrote *Gidji*, in which, under the form of a novel, he portrayed the growth of a young African.

EDWIN W. SMITH.

## REVIEWS.

**Valenge Women.** By E. Dora Earchy. London : International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 1933. 408 pp. Price 25s.

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It is difficult to conceive a reason for issuing at 25s. a book so valuable to many more people than can afford to buy it.

Miss Earchy has secured, mainly through ordinary missionary contacts, a mass of information on Bantu womanhood which puts this book at once in the position of additional volume to Junod's 'History of a South African Tribe'; and this not only by its value but because her Valenge are in some sense kin to Junod's Thonga.

Woman's whole life is dealt with—intimate, domestic, economic—and full use is made throughout of native text in translation. Another outstanding characteristic of the book is the excellence of the illustrations, some of the plates being supremely good. A third point of outstanding value is the botanical identification of medicinal and ritual materials. With a great sense of appreciation there goes, however, a tinge of regret that marshalling and co-ordination of knowledge had not had,

perhaps, a little more time given to them. For the reviewer there is also a feeling that much has not got in, that should be in.

Space allowed is so short that one or two points of criticism may appear to bulk too largely. There are cases of loose writing; e.g., p. 5, "It is a well-known fact that the Chopi were head-hunters"; also on p. 141 the whole statement in the second paragraph as to the sleeping-place of the 'best-man' and the brides-maids. The use of certain vernacular words also causes some uneasiness. The doctor or diviner in the singular is consistently *anyanga*. The verbal form for the transfers between groups at marriage is consistently *akulobola*, e.g., "The Media for *Akulobola*," "The cattle paid for *akulobola*," "The next day but one the *akulobola* is begun," and so on. In one of the initiation songs *qwina* is translated 'children' as if plural to *qweana* whereas the situation suggests 'crocodyles.' The *mpande* shell-ornament is consistently *andoro* : do singular forms in Lenge use 'a' in the prefix?

In at least one respect the new orthography is irritating, and that is in regard to the *ɲ* = *ng*;

compare *Valenge* on the cover and *valerge* in the text.

The brief concluding section on folk-lore, enigmas and proverbs is rather too slight to be useful. Proof-reading has been extraordinarily good, though there is one sentence where 'line' becomes 'neli' with disastrous results. There is an interesting map

showing the present distribution of the Lenge sibs and the leading chieftainships in their area along the coast of Portuguese East Africa between the Limpopo River and the territory of the Chopi.

But this is a veritable storehouse of a book, and a very great piece of work. T. C. Y.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### African Tribal Titles.

**135** SIR,—Dr. Werner suggests that, as the Luganda word for relatives, viz., *enda*, is the same as that for womb, the use of this word (in the sense of relatives) may be a relic of a primitive matrilineal organization and have signified 'all the descendants of one mother.'

But it does not follow that, because people claim to be descendants of one mother, society was formerly organized on a matrilineal basis. The phrase may merely reflect *polygynous* conditions. In any patrilineal family which is also *polygynous* the children of one wife present a united front against the children of another and in time the two groups tend to separate. And so in a patrilineal clan the subdivisions claim relationship to each other through a common forefather but explain the existence of the subdivisions by saying that the members of each subdivision are 'the children of one mother.' Thus the phrase 'the children of one mother' usually in a patrilineal society connotes 'children of one father and one mother,' whereas the phrase 'children of one father' definitely implies that the mothers were different.

Among the Ibo of Nigeria—a strongly patrilineal people—the word for an extended family is *umu-nne*, (or *onu-nne*) i.e., children of one mother. C. K. MEEK.

### Fear of the Dead.

**136** SIR,—Since Dr. Hutton (MAN, 1934, 93) has taken up the cudgels in defence of Miss Durham's theory that fear of the dead is due to fear of infection, it may be desirable to state some of the objections.

(1) If the theory were correct, savages would be unafraid, or less afraid, of the corpses or spirits of those dying by violence. As a fact, in many cases, elaborate precautions are taken to destroy or avoid contact with the corpses of those killed in battle or by wild animals, while those who have died of disease are buried in or near the house. The spirits of women who have died in childbirth are often considered far more dangerous than those of victims of the plague.

(2) The theory seems quite incompatible with the practice of mummification, and of that widespread class of rites in which the corpse is kept in the house until it is dry or decomposed.

(3) The great weakness of this, as of all rationalizing theories, is that it presupposes, in the originators of the belief, a scientific turn of mind, which, had it really existed, must have completely altered the course of human history. RAGLAN.

### RELIGION.

#### The Carriage of Gods or Sacred Symbols in War.

**137** SIR,—In my paper on 'The "Utfa" or camel-litter of the Arabs' I cited a practice of the North American Indians noted by James Adair ('A History of North American Indians,' London, 1775, pp. 161-3). I cannot see any connection between the Ark of the Israelites, the Mahmal of the Moslems, and the Utfa of a morphological character.

The following note taken from 'Tabari' (Zotenberg's

edn., Paris, 1867, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 10, etc.), may be of interest for record as I have not seen it cited previously:

"Djadisma al Abrasch (Djodhayna el Abrasch, 215-268 A.D. of Hira; vide Stokvis, Vol. I, p. 265) was the son of an Azdite father and a woman of the Iyad tribe. Nasr Rabia Amru Hareth Masud Melik Nomara of the Lakma tribe was an ally of the Iyadites who Djadisma attacked. Djadisma had two golden idols (Dhaizan) which were kept in a brocade tent and carried on camels during the march. The Iyadites made the guardians of the idols drunk and stole these sacred effigies. They then wrote to Djadisma that they had the idols and as a result peace was made."

See also 'Sacred Litters among the Semites,' by Mrs. Seligman ('Sudan Notes and Records,' Vol. I, 1918) and my 'Mahmal of the Moslem pilgrimage' (Journ. of Royal Asiatic Soc., 1931). ARTHUR E. ROBINSON.

### Degeneration of a Wind Instrument.

**138** SIR,—Until roughly sixty years ago the Wabena, who now occupy the upper end of the Ulanga Valley, Tanganyika Territory, used to live in the highlands west of their present home. There they danced a dance called *lidanga*, which was performed to the sound of bamboo flutes (*mbeta*, pl. *mbéeta*), small hand drums (*ndengera*, sing. or pl.) and singing. The word *lidanga* means the "jump-jump" of the skins the dancers wore in those days, now replaced by the loin-cloth, and when any words were sung they consisted simply of *O, lidanga, lidanga!*—*O, lidanga, lidanga!*

Among the many changes in tribal life consequent upon the migration to the lowlands, we find the decay of this dance and its replacement by another. It came about in this wise. The hand drums were made of a very light wood which, in the tribe's new home, is only found sporadically in one part of the country. Small wonder then that these drums gradually died out. The drummers took to wearing bells like the dancers of another Bena dance, *lihéyu*, and to beating out the rhythm on their chests with their hands; while the pipers apparently helped by beating their pipes with sticks instead of using them as wind instruments. Further developments soon took place, however, for the Wandamba, with whom the Wabena were now coming into close contact, were already acquainted with the big drum, and in the reign of Kiwanga I (1884-1905) a new dance emerged, with big drums and bells, while the bamboo pipes of the past gave place to notched and split bamboo rasps, by means of which more noise could be produced than by simply beating the pipes as above. *Lidanga* was dead; the new dance came to console those who mourned its passing, and so it was given the name *lipára*, which is the payment a man makes on the death of his wife, to comfort her sorrowing relatives.

In this way a wind instrument has given place to a rasp. The flutes are now obsolete, none are being made and the younger people do not know how to play them. An old man who remembered *lidanga* made one for me at my special request and, significantly, he burned a series of shallow notches down each side of it.

G. M. CULWICK.



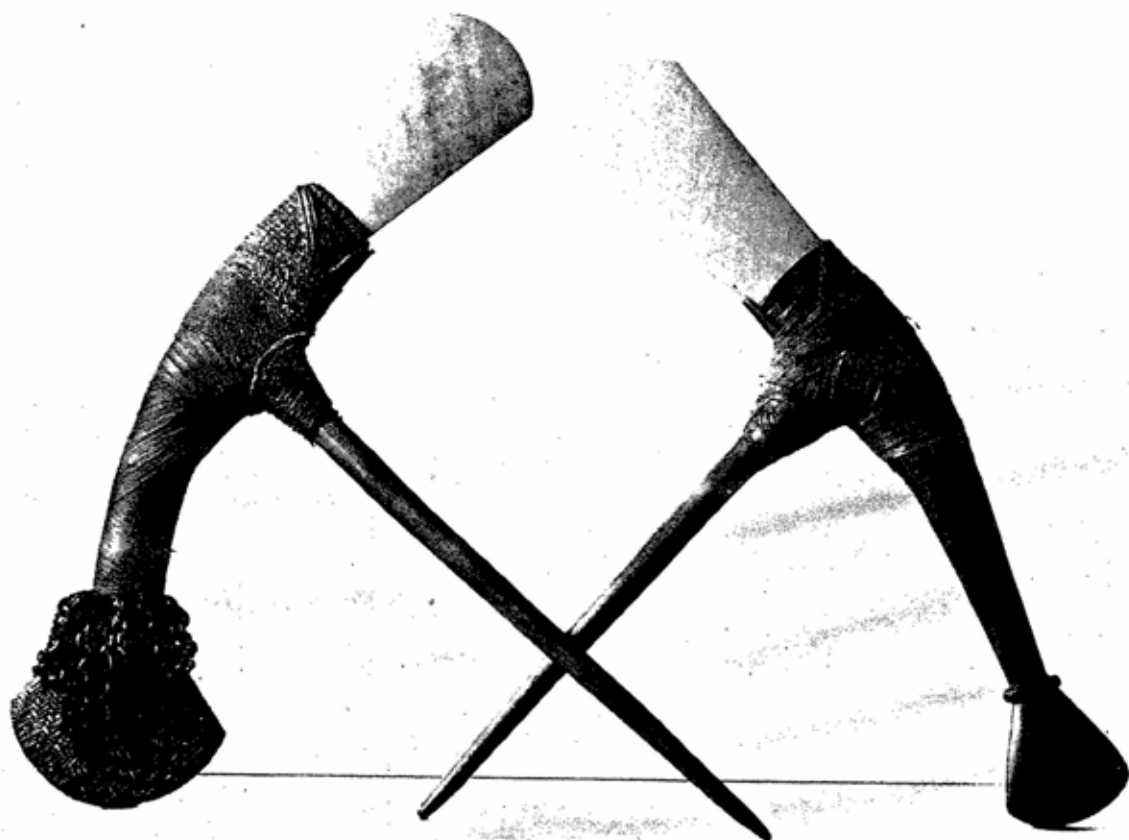


FIG. 1. MT. HAGEN BATTLEAXES.

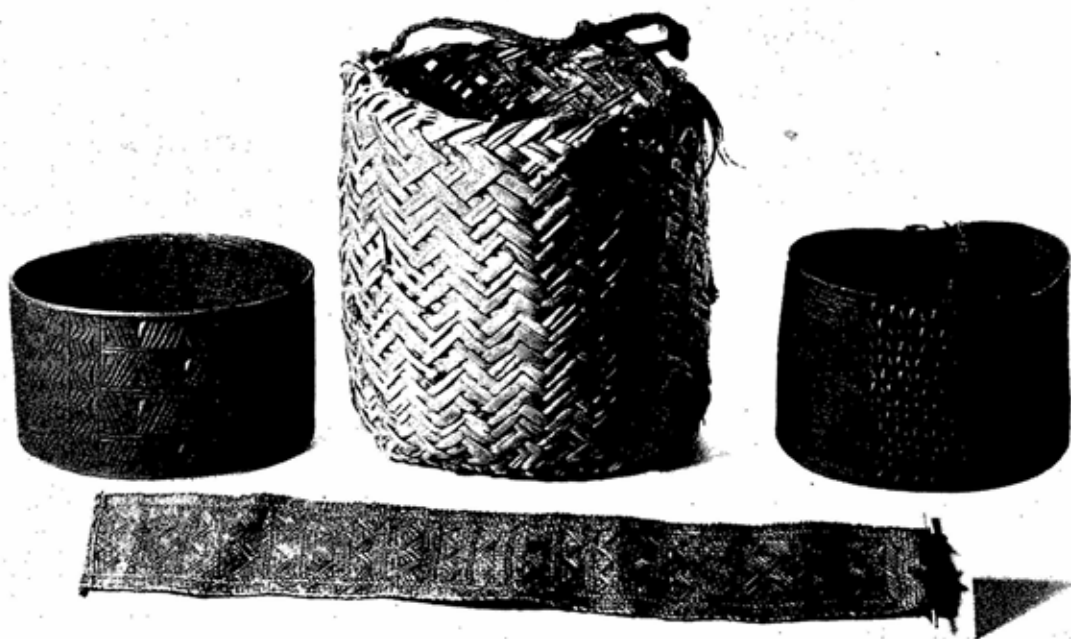


FIG. 2. BODY BELTS AND BASKET FROM WAHGI LANDING GROUND.

MOUNTAIN TRIBES OF THE MANDATED TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA FROM  
MT. CHAPMAN TO MT. HAGEN.

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

XXXIV, 139-157

AUGUST, 1934

### EXSPECTATE, VENI.

**A Welcome to the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.**

The President and Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute offer to the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences their heartiest congratulations and good wishes on the occasion of the First Session of the Congress, at University College, London, from 30th July to 4th August, 1934, under the Patronage of His Royal Highness, the Duke of York. 139

The Congress, as its statutes declare, is designed to include all those departments of research which contribute to the scientific study of Man, in their application to races, peoples, and modes of life.

Throughout the long years of preparation, since the first invitation of the Royal Anthropological Institute to a small committee of eminent representatives of these studies in 1912, it has been a fixed resolve of the promoters of such a Congress, that it shall be fully and truly international, and as widely inclusive as the rights and interests of related organizations permit. Its statutes are almost verbally identical with those of its 'elder sister' the International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, which held its first session at King's College, London, in 1932; and it is intended that the sessions of the two Congresses shall alternate at intervals of two years, and be held moreover in those years in which the International Congress of Americanists customarily meets.

In its eleven sections, the London Session should afford ample opportunity for discussion of the many difficult questions, theoretical and practical alike, which confront anthropologists and ethnologists, in all countries to-day. The attendance of so large a number of Delegates from Governments, Academies, Universities, and other Institutions and Societies, is the best evidence of the sympathetic interest with which the new Congress is welcomed, and of the general desire to co-operate in its task of advancing on the strictest scientific principles that great group of studies which have been described as the 'proper study of Mankind.'

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

#### New Guinea.

With Plate H.

Chinnery.

**Mountain Tribes of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea from Mt. Chapman to Mt. Hagen.**  
*By E. W. P. Chinnery, Director of District Services and Native Affairs and Government Anthropologist of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea.*

The great central ranges on the mainland of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea are now being carefully examined by gold-seekers and by administrative officers, from the Papuan boundary near Mt. Chapman, north-westerly to Mt. Hagen. 140

Newly mapped areas include the headwaters systems of the Papuan rivers, Western Tauri, Vailala, and Purari, and the New Guinea rivers Ramu and Yuat (Sepik tributary); an undescribed range of mountains with four peaks exceeding 13,000 feet above sea level, running along the Papuan border between Mt. Joseph and Mt. Hagen; and a wide expanse of grass-covered plateau country extending from the Western Kratke Mountains to Mt. Hagen between the new border range and the Bismarck ranges. This plateau, which varies in altitude from 5,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level,



is very heavily populated by groups of people with methods of garden culture and certain customs not found in other parts of New Guinea.

As a result of these explorations, it is now known that the mountains from Mt. Chapman to Mt. Hagen are inhabited by three large groups of people who, though differing in language and culture among themselves, have nevertheless things in common, which distinguish them from neighbouring groups.

The people of the first, or south-easterly, group, live between Mt. Yule and Mt. Lawson, on the southern watershed drained by the headwaters of the St. Joseph and Eastern Lakekamu, and on the northern watershed drained by the headwaters of the Waria system.

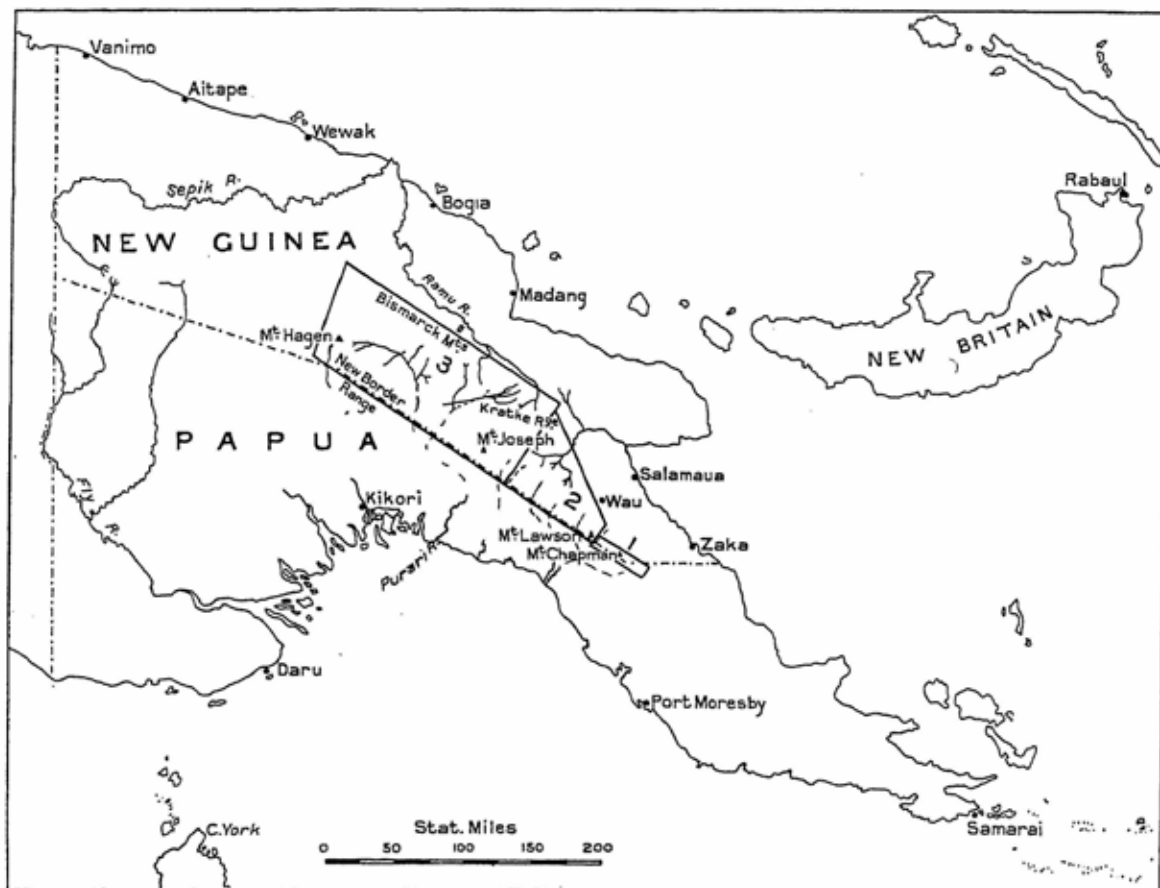


FIG. 3. SKETCH MAP OF THE EASTERN PART OF NEW GUINEA.

Those of the second, or central, group, who are commonly known as Kukukuku by neighbouring tribes and Europeans, live between Mt. Lawson and the Kratke Mountains, a region of precipitous country drained on the south by the headwaters of the Western Lakekamu (Tiviri), the Tauri and the Eastern Vailala, and on the north by tributaries of the Watut and Langimar which flow into the Markham.

The tribes of the third, or north-western, group, occupy the vast plateau country between the Kratke Mountains and Mt. Hagen.

The first group has already been briefly described by me in published Reports<sup>1</sup> and in various

<sup>1</sup> Chinnery, E. W. P.: Anthropological Report, New Guinea, No. 4. (*Vide* special references to publications of Monckton, p. 5, Lutheran Mission, Detzner, p. 6, and Humphries, E. Taylor, p. 7).

mission papers and Annual Reports of Papua<sup>2</sup> and New Guinea. References have been made to some of the second group in the Annual Reports of Papua and the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, and by Detzner,<sup>3</sup> but as it is only recently that the western half of the second group, and the whole of the third or north-western group, have been carefully examined,<sup>4</sup> it has not yet been possible, owing to difficulties of interpretation, to gather much information about the people. Some of the younger ones, however, have now acquired a little knowledge of pidgin English and with their aid, and from personal observations, certain data have been gathered by officers of the Morobe District and by me, during short visits of inspection to the Watut, Ramu, Purari and Mt. Hagen Patrol camps.

The so-called Kukukuku groups of the Tiviri and Watut watersheds extend as far as the Eastern Vailala and occupy the watershed of the Western Tauri and Langimar. Their physical types, housing and gardens improve between the Western Tauri and the Vailala. They usually live in small family houses near their gardens and move when they make new gardens in the jungle, but in the Western Tauri there are many large stockaded villages of round houses with conical roofs. Both men and women dress alike. They are generally short and sturdy in stature. The men are usually clean shaven and their hair is cut short, with a tuft left on top to hold a loop from which a long cape of tapa cloth is suspended for protection against the cold and rain. The septum of the nose and lobes



FIG. 4. PURARI HEADWATERS: TYPICAL PLATEAU COUNTRY.

of the ears are pierced. A piece of bamboo is sometimes worn in the nasal perforation and a ring of cane or fibre, holding tufts of fur, often hangs from the lobe of the ear. There is marked prognathism. The brow ridges are prominent and the nose, deep sunken at the root, is usually long, slightly convex and broad at the nostrils. Both sexes wear a grass or plaited fibre skirt covering the pubic region and buttocks. It is chiefly this mode of dress which distinguishes the wearers sharply from men of the large groups to the south-east and north-west. The men use a short bow and arrows and stone-headed clubs when fighting and carry a heavy, cumbersome bowman's shield suspended from the shoulder. They chew betel-nut but do not smoke tobacco. During recent patrols in this area, Assistant District Officer Penglase and Patrol Officer McCarthy gathered a great deal of information, which will be published officially.

<sup>2</sup> Chinnery, E. W. P.: Annual Report, Papua, 1916-17, and map, pp. 50-68 and p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Detzner, Hermann. Vier jahre unter kannibalen, Berlin, 1921.

<sup>4</sup> Detzner briefly describes a journey between his base camp in the Tiviri and Mt. Joseph and in a recent letter informs me he has referred to this well-peopled region in scientific articles apart from his book.

The third, or north-western, tribes inhabit the large grass-covered plateau previously described. This area forms the source of the Vailala, Ramu, Purari and Jimmi (Yuat-branch of sepik) rivers. The south-eastern end is drained on the south by the Vailala, and on the north by the Ramu headwaters. The huge basin north-west of the Ramu watershed is drained by the Garfuku, which includes the Bena Bena and its tributaries. West of the Garfuku watershed the country is drained by the Wahgi and its tributaries, the principal of which is the Chimbu. The country south-west of Mt. Hagen is drained by another large river, the Kaugel, and its tributary the Nebyer, or Nabilyer. These three rivers flow southerly and probably join together somewhere beyond the border range and form the Purari, which continues south into the Gulf of Papua. The country to the north-east of Mt. Hagen is drained by tributaries of the Jimmi, which eventually flows into the Sepik.

Taylor<sup>5</sup> found evidence suggesting that the areas drained by the Garfuku and Wahgi are the beds of ancient lakes.

Flying over this country, I was able to distinguish from the types of houses and gardens three different groups of people. From the Kratke Mountains to the Garfuku watershed they live mostly on the river flats and low ridges in large villages of round houses with conical roofs, gardens near the villages stand out conspicuously in patterns like patchwork quilts. Crossing the watershed into the Chimbu tributary of the Wahgi, the houses and gardens appear to be scattered and irregular and the round houses are seldom seen, isolated elliptical structures taking their place. Towards the Wahgi and on to Mt. Hagen the shape of the gardens changes noticeably to definite chess-board patterns.

Taylor distinguishes two great groups, East and West, with an intrusive or modified division in between, gradually extending from the Mairifuteikar tributary of the Garfuku to beyond the Chimbu. He found at least twelve different dialects between the Ramu groups and Mt. Hagen, each of which had points of resemblance with those adjacent to it but apparently little resemblance with those remote from it.

The following observations on the population between the Kratke Mountains and the Garfuku

river are brief abstracts from my notes (native words as used in Ramu group) and the reports of officials working in the area, principally J. L. Taylor, Bates, Kyle and Nurton<sup>6</sup>, whose works will be published officially.

Men and women are of medium height but very strongly built. Hair is worn in plaits to which long ringlets of human hair falling to the shoulders are sometimes attached. There is slight prognathism. The skin colour ranges from light to dark brown, and, in the Ramu watershed especially, several men with distinctly brick-red skins were seen. The skin is sometimes darkened with pigs' grease, mixed with a dark vegetable substance obtained from the base of a tree. In both sexes the septum, and often the wings of the nose, are pierced and plugged with ornaments, the commonest being an elongated piece of marble or quartz, boars' tusks, and birds' beaks. Men and boys wear a perineal band of tapa cloth, covered with strips of fibre, suspended from a rope-like girdle of plaited fibre. Women



FIG. 5. PURARI NATIVE WEARING RITUAL CANE AROUND NECK.

<sup>5</sup> James Lindsay Taylor, Assistant District Officer in charge of the Mt. Hagen patrol.

<sup>6</sup> A.D.O. J. L. Taylor, Patrol Officers Bates, Kyle and Nurton.

have necklets and waist bands of Job's Tears and a loin covering of tapa strips. The dress of married women covers the hips and reaches from the waist to the knees, but the unmarried girls usually wear strips of tapa in front and behind. The hair is decorated with small shells, cassowary feathers, Job's Tears and tapa cloth-hair and ornaments being held in place by a frame of feather work. Woven fibre armlets and leg bands are worn and well-made wrist bands protect the skin from the chafing of the bow string. The most prized ornament is a large white cowrie shell worn on a neck string. Mats of pandanus leaves are frequently carried for protection from rain. Some of the men wear a mummified finger on a string hanging down the back. Women usually carry large netted string bags.

Villages *barura* are generally built on the ridges or in grass flats near the small streams. A typical village contains nearly 100 circular living houses *ma* built closely together, with men's houses *bané* at the ends and in the centre. *Casuarina nari* and *draecina moia* are planted here and there throughout the villages. These settlements are frequently built on the edge of cane swamps, which are difficult to penetrate and afford a natural protection to the inhabitants, enabling them to escape by tracks not known to their enemies. The living houses are small, low circular structures, built with frames of cane and light bamboo, and conical roofs covered with short grass. Separate houses *pona ma* for pigs *po* are scattered throughout the village where a few domesticated pigs and dogs *iá* are sometimes seen. Water is kept in large bamboo tubes. Some of the villages are filthy with rubbish and faeces, but in most parts the people use certain streams for sanitation, as human faeces is regarded as a most important factor in magic, the practitioners of which are known as *banta*. Some villages are surrounded by stockades. The people sleep on pandanus mats laid on the ground. Women, girls and young boys occupy the same house, but men usually live in the men's houses.

The gardens are better than anywhere else in New Guinea and large areas of the country are scarred with the drain systems of old gardens. Cultivated patches of twenty acres or more are often seen in the proximity of a village. Bates gives a good description of Bena Bena gardens. The grass is uprooted and laid to dry; then it is burned and the ashes are dug into the ground with sharpened sticks. The soil is tilled to a depth of one or two feet. Men, women and children take part in the preparation. In some gardens built on hill slopes, three drains were used, a horizontal one on top, joined by two vertical, which carried away the storm waters intercepted by the top drain. When flats are cultivated drains are made between each row of food beds. The beds are made in parallel lines and are ten feet wide, separated by drains of uniform length and breadth dug straight with the aid of long plaited measuring cords. The principal crops are sweet potatoes *iakung* sugar cane *iā*, bananas *ā* and beans. Taro *iana* and yams *owa* are not often seen. The bean seeds are planted twelve inches apart and their vines are supported by long sticks, which give the gardens an exceedingly neat appearance. The garden plots or divisions are usually fenced with wild cane lashed together with strips of bark. Meat foods consist of pigs, cassowaries, eels, rats, mice, and black and green grubs which come out in great numbers after rain and are dug up from the grass, patches of which are burned off in preparation for their collection.

Vegetable food is cooked on hot stones in wooden cylinders *kubara*, three feet six inches high and one foot in diameter, which are really hollowed logs. The *kubara* stand two feet in the ground; the bottom is sprinkled with soil and then covered with stones previously baked over a fire; vegetables wrapped in leaves are placed on the stones, covered, and allowed to cook.

The wild variety of betel nut *kepu* is eaten with a lime *kauti* made from the ashes of a bark and carried in a calabash *ku*. It is eaten with a bone lime-stick *mabuke*. Tobacco *fuka* is grown and smoked *kung* in a small bamboo cigar holder *fukan* by drawing smoke into the holder from the end of the cigar and exhaling it.

Fire is produced by a flexible sawing thong method. Knives are made of bamboo. In the Ramu villages I saw a clay cooking pot *kavi* which had been traded from the lower Ramu in exchange for the local rope-girdle *amuana*, bows *isena* and arrows *uwi*. Salt is obtained from salt springs.

Cannibalism has been reported. During inter-tribal warfare, which is constantly taking place, women accompany their men with spare arrows. Bows are made of black palm and bow strings of

cane; arrows consist of bamboo shafts with hard-wood points, most artistically carved and barbed. A full length shield of hard-wood is also carried.

Most persons of marriageable age appear to be married and polygyny is widespread. Taylor was informed that arrows are shot through the thighs of a man detected in adultery.

The natives have good robust voices, and singing and dancing play an important part in their lives. On the Ramu I saw a small hand-drum with skin membrane.

On the Bena Bena tributary there is a cane-swallowing ritual not previously observed in New

Guinea. Some of the adult men wear a long length of thin cane doubled and looped round their necks (fig. 5). They send the women and children away and then push the bent part of the cane down the gullet for several inches leaving the two ends protruding from the mouth. Bates says a man may have three of these canes down his throat at the same time. When I witnessed the performance, two important men grasped the ends of the cane and danced excitedly around the performer, who still had the rest of the cane down his throat (fig. 6). Usually the cane is withdrawn from the stomach almost immediately, but we have yet to see this ritual in its proper ceremonial place. Taylor was told that women would die if they saw the ceremony. He was also told that the practice prevents sickness and is sometimes used to produce vomiting after heavy feasts.

Bamboo flutes are used during initiation ceremonies.

The following words were collected by me on the Ramu from a youth who understood a little pidgin English: Mother's sister's husband, *chirara-afai*; wife's sister's son, *nomi*; wife's mother, *airo-uana*; daughter's husband (woman speaking), *iufinofu* or *chirau*; wife's father (man speaking), *chikako-maio* or *china*; daughter's



FIG. 6. PURARI CANE-SWALLOWING RITUAL.

ter's husband (man speaking), *china*; wife's brother, *chiro*; sister's husband, *chiro*; mother's brother's daughter, *chiofi*; mother's brother's son, *chiraru*; brother (elder), *chiwai*; brother (younger), *chifo*; sister (younger), *chiofi*; sister (woman speaking) (younger), *tu*, (elder), *tunana*; mother, *sinoi*; son, *chika*; father, *sipoi*; wife, *sina*; husband, *siwapu*; mother's brother, *sikakoi*; sister's son, *sikakoi* or *noi-inta*. Numerals:—1, *mana*; 2, *kangkana*; 3, *kantmanau*; 4, *kami fokamifo*; 5, *iamanapo*; 6, *afa poukari*; 7, *kano kari*; 8, *kantmanau*; 9, *kami fokamifo*; 10, *tiamaka*; 15, *tiamakamanaiomomina*; A small vocabulary:—Go, *oro*; come, *eri*; quick, *iairo*; big, *antaru kaka*; small, *tito*; man, *buanta*; woman, *anasi*; dog, *ida*; pig, *po*; rat, *oyi*; water, *no*; grass, *u*; fish, *noyana*; ground, *bara*; sun, *a-au*; moon, *bio*; star, *ofu*; rain, *a*; cloud, *kona*; road, *asa*; stone-axe, *kung*; smoke, *iku*; shield, *tanko*; stone, *o*; fire, *ira*; blood, *nari*; eye, *tu*; nose, *tisi*; tongue, *chimaki*; teeth, *chivientu*; lips, *chiba*; ear, *tateri*; hair, *chinondo*; head, *chinodampa*; hand, *chia*; belly, *chira*; leg, *chiranta*; foot, *chiaru*; toe, *chiepo*; finger, *chiumu*; breast, *na*; female genital, *takari*; male genital, *a'fe*; testes, *awanka*; faeces, *ara*; urine, *chivi*; hill, *anuio*; river, *no*.



The principal features distinguishing the groups north-westerly from the Garfuku basin to Mt. Hagen are set out in Taylor's reports, a brief abstract of which follows:—

#### MAIRIFUTEIKAR TRIBES.

Tattooing of the face appears here and is almost universal among women. Children use spinning (humming) tops. Conditions generally are similar to those on the Garfuku, but the gardens are inferior and the general type begins to change.

#### CHINA SHIVA TRIBES.

Still greater changes appear here. The houses are oblong with rounded ends. Poles protude vertically through the roof and are thatched with grass to make conical spires. One man wore a long beard wound round with string and brought to a point; another, evidently a sorcerer, wore two stones painted red and blue hanging from his head to his ears and a hood apparently of human hair, resting on his head and shoulders. In this group the people use clay whistles, shaped like a pig, and varying in size. Some are three and a half inches long and two inches across the thickest part. The inside is hollow and there is one opening at the pig's nose and two at its ears. The surface is painted black and carved with geometrical patterns. Two notes are produced by blowing into the large opening at the pig's nose, holding the whistle with the rim against the lower lip and using the other holes as in reed instruments. Many of the smaller whistles have red and blue designs painted on them.

#### CHIMBU TRIBES.

Here the houses are low and oblong in shape. They are about twenty-four feet long and eight feet wide, thatched with grass, and are situated in the corner of each family garden. There are no villages and this type of settlement continues to Mt. Hagen. The population is numerous and the people are noticeably smaller in stature than the groups east and west of them. Their head and breast decorations are distinctive. Almost every man of importance wears on his head the feathers of the Dollar bird and round his neck strings of pig's tails, covering the breast. The white cowrie is not seen. An entirely new type of garden in a chess-board pattern begins here. The area selected is first cleared of grass. Plots of about ten feet square are then marked out and kept in perfect alignment by means of a long rope and pegs. With the aid of wooden hoes drains are dug about eighteen inches across and one or two feet deep, with sides vertical and regular. Soil from the drains is thrown on to the plot, forming the surface soil for the plants. About ten sweet potato plants are put in each plot. This type of garden, according to Taylor, is used exclusively for sweet potatoes and extends to Mt. Hagen.

#### KUNIMBI TRIBES.

These people are noticeably larger in stature. They wear a bark belt and an arch-shaped decoration of small white cowrie shells over the eyes and part of the face. They trade with neighbours across the Bismarcks.

#### WAHGI TRIBES.

(*Baimarn, Berebeger and Kuminiger*).

The inhabitants of this area are outstandingly tall, well-built people. The men usually have beards and wear large bark waist belts *orogonarup*, (Plate H, 2) six or seven inches wide, sometimes carved and sometimes covered with a second belt of woven cane. These belts hold in position the pubic covering *korn*, which is a long netted cloth reaching almost to the ground. Rolled into the fibre of this net is a fur, which gives the yarn a woolly appearance. The same material is also made into hats *kampakuil*. The crescent-shaped gold-lip shell *kinyer* is the principal ornament. The base of a conus shell is sometimes worn passed through the septum of the nose and hanging over the lip. The ears are not pierced. A finely cut spear *kurang*, twelve feet long and decorated with fur, is the principal weapon, but it is probably used for thrusting. A large decorated hard-wood shield *kumbera-ta-ti* is also used in battle. Tobacco is grown. Women carry woven cane baskets (Plate H, 2) instead of netted bags.

MOUNT HAGEN TRIBES.  
(*Yamger, Injiger, Mo-gei*).

These people are almost as tall as the Wahgi. Their hair is enclosed in a tapa or netted hat crested with cassowary feathers. The men wear beards. The septum of the nose is pierced but not the lobes of the ears. Their skin is brown in colour and darkened with pigs' fat and charcoal. A number of men and women had fingers missing. The ornaments generally are similar to Wahgi, but here an additional breast ornament is seen. It consists of a row of short parallel bamboo sticks about four inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, fastened together horizontally like a miniature blind, with sometimes eighteen sticks. The meaning of this is not known, but it appears to be a ceremonial record of some kind. Women wear arm bands made from the dried anal rings of pigs. The houses are low rectangular structures with convex ends, usually about twenty-four feet by nine feet; the walls are about four feet high, but the height of the roof rarely exceeds seven feet. They are built in the gardens.

In this district the people hold their dances in beautifully prepared park-like spaces. These are



FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.

CLAY WHISTLES OF CHINA SIVA TRIBES.

surrounded with carefully planted ornamental shrubs and trees and contain a ceremonial house sacred to men.

The Mt. Hagen battleaxes (Plate H, 1) are the finest yet seen in New Guinea. Most of them are made in the villages of Gumbigai and Mangarvigar in the Manginbor area, where the stone for the blades is quarried. Their heads are a blue or grey stone of fine texture, beautifully ground and polished. Blades vary in size, but one measured 11.5 inches long, was 2 inches wide at the heel, 5.5 inches at the edge, and  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of an inch through the thickest part. The blade is well housed in a wooden cavity, set in the same plane as the handle and counterbalanced by a piece of wood 18 inches long set immediately behind and beautifully carved and decorated with fibre chains and fur. The whole axe is formed like a T, the shaft of the handle is 16 inches long and 1 inch in diameter at the thickest part, whence it tapers gradually to a point. Where the shaft joins the counterpoise, the axe is bound with tapa and cane. It is carried in the bark belt with the handle between the belt and the body and the head and counterpoise resting on the upper edge of the belt. When ready for action, the axe is carried above the shoulder in an alert position with the hand near the blade.

Birds are shot with bows and arrows. There was no indication of cannibalism here, but inter-tribal fighting constantly takes place, the weapons being the spear, *jimbun*, and the battleaxe,

*simgirin-er*. Taylor was told that adultery is severely punished. A man and woman detected are tied together for some months, ill-treated and ill-fed. The tendons of their fingers and the back of the knees are cut and one eye is blinded before they are released. The principal ornament appears to be a white shell *taim*, shaped like a shield, the gold-lip crescent *kinyer* and other shells. The dead are buried in an extended position with arms flexed backwards, elbows drawn into sides and knees raised in a crooked position. On frequent occasions the elder men stand up one after the other and deliver long orations on questions of interest. Taylor describes an interesting ceremony which he saw in one of the houses after the evening meal. Males and females sat by the fire and sang dreamy songs, the sexes swayed and leaned towards each other until their noses touched, then with noses apparently locked together, they rolled from side to side with their eyes closed in evident ecstasy. After a few minutes they would return to their normal sitting position and rest before repeating the performance.

An old stone mortar was found at Gimgar near Mt. Hagen, and another stone which looked like an old stone oil lamp was found at Iramdi. Their use was not known to the present people, but they were regarded with reverence. A stone club-head of pineapple shape was picked up on a mountain track near Kanjivi. Stone-headed clubs were not seen in the district.

#### JIMMI TRIBES.

Following the watershed north from Mt. Hagen, the people and conditions change rapidly, and gardens and types common to New Guinea are found as the rivers run towards the Sepik.

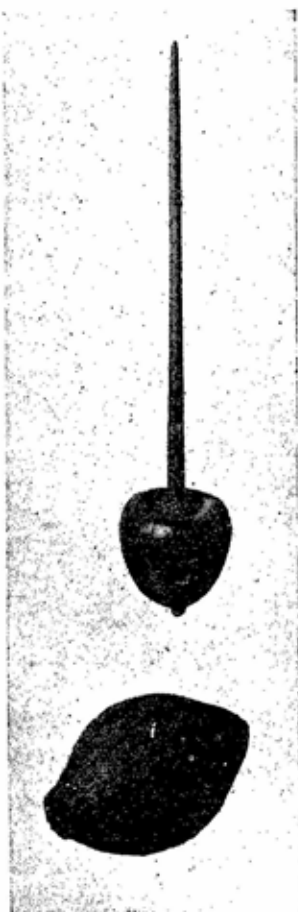
#### PUPWER TAILGER TRIBES.

Similarly types and gardens change south towards Papua.

#### CONCLUSION.

By comparing the areas visited and seen by him with other districts on the plateau in which the people have been counted, Taylor estimates the population between the Kratke Mountains and Mt. Hagen to be approximately 200,000.

FIG. 9. HUMMING TOP AND WHISTLE: CHINA SIVA TRIBES



E. W. P. CHINNERY.

#### SUMMARY OF PHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS OF THE PURARI TRIBES.

By J. LINDSAY TAYLOR.

<i>Stature Height in Metres.</i>	<i>Cephalic Index.</i>
Bena Bena (Eastern Purari) 16 men, 9 women.	
Men - 1.53 to 1.68 : average 1.57.	76 to 87 : average 82.
Women - 1.31 to 1.58 : average 1.47.	77 to 85 : average 82.
Wahgi (Mid. Western Purari) 31 men, 36 women.	
Men - 1.52 to 1.70 : average 1.61.	70 to 88 : average 77.
Women - 1.32 to 1.57 : average 1.46.	70 to 84 : average 78.
Mount Hagen (Western Purari) 53 men, 46 women.	
Men - 1.49 to 1.68 : average 1.56.	68 to 82 : average 76.
Women - 1.39 to 1.56 : average 1.44.	68 to 80 : average 73.

**Bibliography.****Gaskin.**

**Sources and Material for a Bibliography of Anthropology.** By L. J. P. Gaskin, Horniman Museum; sometime Librarian of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

**141** Bibliographical sources for the many subjects which make up the science of Anthropology are so numerous that it is only possible, within the limits of a brief article, to mention some of the more important. Of these, two kinds of bibliographies will at once be remarked. The first is the 'select list,' in which the more important books and papers, old and new, have been carefully selected, and which stands, for all time, a monument to the erudition of the compiler. The second is the bibliography of current literary material, and is usually published in periodical form.

The form the bibliography takes is not, however, so important as the subject-matter listed, and, in the main, anthropological bibliographies compiled during the present century can be classified under four headings:—(1) General or comprehensive bibliographies, covering all aspects of the science; (2) Ethnological bibliographies, general and regional; (3) Bibliographies of Physical Anthropology; (4) Bibliographies of Prehistory.

**I.—GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES.**

The Royal Society's *Catalogue of Scientific Literature, Section P., Anthropology* covers material published during the years 1900–1914, and extends to 13 annual volumes. Each volume contained entries of books and papers in four languages: English, French, German and Italian. These entries were classified on a comprehensive scheme which included all aspects of anthropological research, such as Physical Anthropology, Material Culture, Sociology, Prehistory, and Religion, and some of these divisions were again classified in great detail. Ethnology was arranged regionally. Each subject and each division of a subject had a numerical notation, and each volume was equipped with an author-index. The compilation of the catalogue depended upon international co-operation, and when this became impossible the catalogue ceased to appear; but entries on cards, or in slip form, have been filed for some years since 1914, in this and other countries.

The *Centralblatt für Anthropologie*, edited by G. Buschan, appeared during the years 1896–1912 in 17 annual volumes. Each volume covered material published during the year of issue; but the classification scheme adopted for the entries was not so detailed as that used in the *International Catalogue*. Divided into two sections, comprising reviews of books and papers in periodicals, and a bibliographical survey of current anthropological literature, the entries in each section were classified under the following broad divisions:—(1) General; (2) Anthropology; (3) Ethnology and Ethnography, with geographical sub-divisions; and (4) Prehistory. To facilitate reference each annual volume was supplied with author- and subject-indexes.

The *Bibliography of Anthropology and Folk-Lore*, of N. W. Thomas is very much smaller in size, but of a general character. It consists of two volumes. Published in 1906 and 1907, each annual volume covered material appearing during the year of issue; but the entries in this case were restricted to books and papers published within the British Empire, and were arranged under geographical divisions with author- and subject-indexes. Thomas's bibliography merited a support it never received, and had it been continued would have proved to-day a valuable and useful record of anthropological literature within the Empire.

*Current Anthropological Literature*, the bibliography published by the American Anthropological Association, was similar in size but somewhat different in character. Two volumes only appeared, covering material published in 1912 and 1913, and, as in the *Centralblatt für Anthropologie*, there were two sections, one for reviews and one for bibliography. The entries were classified regionally, and included books and papers in all languages. This publication came to an untimely end owing to the death of one of the editors, Professor A. F. Chamberlain.

**II.—ETHNOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES.**

Ethnological bibliographies are usually restricted to prescribed geographical areas; but in 1911 Professor S. R. Steinmetz compiled a 'select bibliography' of the whole subject.

His *Essai d'une Bibliographie Systématique de L'Ethnologie jusqu'à l'année, 1911*, was No. 1 of a series of *Monographies bibliographiques* issued by the 'Institut Solvay' of Brussels. This list included the older books and papers in French, German and English, and the entries were classified

on a scheme which gave a wide interpretation to Ethnology, and included such subjects as Psychology, Economics, Religion and Material Culture. Bibliographies of this character are of considerable historical value, since they record many of the older important works; but are not perhaps as useful to the student as a bibliography of current ethnological literature.

Such is the *Ethnologischer Anzeiger*, edited by Dr. Heydrich, of the Dresden Museum. It includes entries of books and papers in all languages, classified, in the main, geographically, but with some subject-headings. Vol. 1 covers material published during 1924-25, Vol. 2 material published during 1926-27, Vol. 3 is in course of publication. Each volume contains two sections: the first is devoted to the bibliography; the second to reviews of books, short articles, and notices of matters ethnological. Some idea of the importance and size of this work may be gained from the fact that there are 8,603 entries in the bibliographical portion of Vol. 2.

*L'Ethnographie* from 1926 has published a similar, but smaller, bibliography of current ethnological literature, compiled by J. Nippgen. The entries include books and papers, in all languages, published during the year preceding the year of issue of each annual volume. This list commenced in 1926 with 500 entries, and in the last volume, Nos. 23-24, covering material published in 1930, there are 1,446 entries. In the last volume, too, there are good author-, geographical-, and subject-indexes to the bibliography.

There are numerous bibliographies of Ethnology restricted to prescribed geographical areas.

*Africa, the Journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures*, has been published quarterly since 1928, and the entries in the bibliographies include literary matter which has appeared during the period of issue of each quarterly number. Co-operation between English, French, and German compilers ensures the inclusion of all important works in these three languages, and at the end of the year the quarterly lists are 'cumulated,' thus forming a valuable bibliographical appendix to each annual volume.

In the *Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris* current ethnological literature relating to America is listed by Professor P. Rivet, Director of the Musée d'Ethnographie au Trocadéro. This 'bibliographie Americaniste,' which is classified regionally, started in Vol. 10 (1919), and the entries in that volume include material published during 1914-1919. Since that date the entries refer to material, both books and papers, published during the year of issue of each annual volume.

The *Orientalische Bibliographie*, edited by Professor L. Scherman, and published annually since 1887, has always been regarded as an authoritative guide to the literature of the East. Each annual volume records material, books and papers published during the year of issue, and the entries are classified, the divisions for Anthropology, Ethnology, and Linguistics being specially valuable and full. Of recent years, however, this publication has much diminished in size and importance, and, owing to the retirement of the Editor, Professor Scherman, may disappear altogether.

Henri Cordier's great *Bibliotheca Indosinica*, published 1912-1915, extends to four volumes. Vol. 1 covers Burma, Assam, Siam and Laos; Vol. 2 The Malay Peninsula; Vols. 3 and 4 French Indo-China. The entries in this bibliography include the older and newer (to date of publication) books and papers in all languages, and are classified by subject, with special divisions for Anthropology and Ethnology. Each volume is equipped with good subject-, regional-, and author-indexes, and, in addition, there is an excellent author- and subject-index to the whole work, published in 1932.

There seems to be no really good modern bibliography of the anthropology or ethnology of Melanesia. Polynesia is, however, more fortunate, and there is an excellent, and well selected, bibliography published as an appendix to Miss M. Mead 'An inquiry into the question of cultural stability' in Polynesia, *Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology*, Vol. 9, 1929.

In *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, Vol. 33 (1900), literature on the Maori has been listed by A. Hamilton under the title of 'A hand-list of certain papers referring to the Maori Race,' and a second edition of this list was issued in 1911. The excellent bibliographies in Elsdon Best's *The Maori* (1924) and R. W. Firth's *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (1929), will probably be of greater use, since they include books as well as papers which have, moreover, been selected by recognised authorities on the subject.

For Australia, there is the old annotated author-list compiled by R. Etheridge under the title of



'Contributions to a catalogue of works, reports and papers on the Anthropology, Ethnology, and Geological history of the Australian and Tasmanian aborigines,' and published in *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of New South Wales; Palæontology*, No. 8 (1890-1895, 3 parts). More recent is the *List of works relating to the aborigines of Australia and Tasmania*, compiled by G. F. Black for the New York Public Library, and published in 1913.

Finally, Europe is covered by the good and very full bibliography which was published as an appendix to Ripley's *Races of Europe*, 1900. This is an author-list including the older books and papers in all languages, and is supplied with subject- and regional-indexes. For more recent works on this area reference should be made to the select bibliographies in G. Buschan's *Illustrierte Völkerkunde*, Vol. 2, Europe; but the entries refer, in the main, to German books and papers.

### III.—BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

R. Martin's *Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, of which the second edition in three volumes was published in 1928, devotes the whole of the third volume to bibliography. The entries, which include books and papers, old and new, in all languages, are arranged on a subject-plan with a numerical notation, and there are excellent author- and subject-indexes. This is probably the most exhaustive bibliography of any aspect of anthropological research ever published.

The *Anthropologischer Anzeiger*, a bibliography of the current literature on physical anthropology, has been published in quarterly parts since 1924. The entries, which are classified, refer to books and articles in all languages, and cover approximately the dates of issue of each annual volume. This periodical, like the *Ethnologischer Anzeiger*, is not confined to bibliography, and includes short articles and notices on matters connected with physical anthropology. There are also regional bibliographies of physical anthropology, and amongst the more important, and the more recent, of these mention might be made of Professor J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan's *Anthropologische Bibliographie van den Indischen Archipel en van Nederlandsch West-Indië*, published in 1923. The entries, which refer to books and papers, old and new, in all languages, are heavily annotated, and are classified under a scheme which includes a special section for skull and skeleton. The index, which is extensive, includes references to authors (in heavy type), places, and peoples.

### IV.—BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF PREHISTORY.

In the *Cambridge Ancient History* (1923-1925), the classified bibliographies compiled for each chapter, and printed at the end of each of the first three volumes, include the older and newer books and papers in all languages, and are standard works used in the writing of the histories.

In the *Repertoire d'Art et d'Archéologie*, current literature on Archæology and other subjects is listed. It has been published annually since 1910. The entries are classified, and refer to books and papers, in all languages, published during the year of issue of each annual volume; but this work goes somewhat beyond the subject.

The *Vorgeschichtliches Jahrbuch* is a more valuable guide to the current literature of Prehistory. Vol. 1 covered material published in 1924; Vol. 2, 1925; Vol. 3, 1926; Vol. 4, 1927, and so on. The entries, which include books and papers in all languages, are classified regionally and by subject, and are well annotated.

Regional bibliographies of Prehistory are so very numerous that it is only possible to mention one or two. For England there is the excellent and useful author-list compiled by Sir Laurence Gomme under the title of *Index of Archæological Papers*, 1665-1890 and 1891-1901, continued annually by the *Congress of Archæological Societies* to 1910. For France, a work apparently little known in this country, but of considerable value, is R. Montandon's *Bibliographie générale des travaux paléolithiques et archéologiques*, of which four volumes and three supplements (published 1917-1931) have already appeared. Each volume covers definite geographical areas of France, and has two subject divisions, Anthropology and Archæology, and Geology and Palæontology. The entries include both the old and new books and papers, and there are good author-, subject-, and regional-indexes to each volume.

The bibliographical sources of anthropology are so numerous that it is impossible, as I have already remarked, to enumerate them all, or to classify them otherwise than generally. There are, however, some bibliographies which fall outside my classification. Of these, the most important is the bibliography to Sir J. Frazer's *Golden Bough*. This extensive list of books and papers, in all languages,

will be found in Vol 12 of that work, and is, probably, the most exhaustive list of books on comparative religion ever compiled.

Current periodicals often supply bibliographical information. *MAN*, for instance, prints reviews, and lists the accessions to the Institute's library. *L'Anthropologie* has a section, 'mouvement scientifique,' devoted to reviews of books and articles, and there are similar sections in many anthropological journals.

Finally, booksellers' catalogues sometimes supply information not easily to be found elsewhere, and, in this connection, mention may be made of a recent illustrated list, by Francis Edwards of London, entitled *Australasia, Old and New* (published 1928). The entries are classified and annotated, and refer to books and papers of all dates. The illustrations in this catalogue are reproductions from plates in old and rare books, and in some cases from original paintings and drawings. L. J. P. GASKIN.

### America : South.

An interesting survival in Harpoon Design from Chile. By Adrian Digby, British Museum.

Three harpoon heads of unusual interest were recently given to the British Museum by Mr. F. W. Vale. The two on the left (*A* and *B*) consist of a simple bone shaft with a flattened surface on one side of the point to receive two barbs which are lashed on with string in the manner shown in the sketch. They were both excavated from a native cemetery at Chipana on the River Loa, in Chile. With them were associated various objects, including wooden beakers, chalcedony arrowheads, both tanged and barbed and with concave butts, pottery vessels of various shapes, one painted and bearing some relation to Peruvian Epigonal ware, a silver cloak pin, several cigar-shaped net-sinkers, and also some wood harpoon heads. The inference from the above-mentioned is that these specimens must be of considerable antiquity.

*C*, on the other hand, is an iron harpoon head. The shaft is of circular section with two barbs apparently welded to it. Further stiffening is provided by string lashing which covers a considerable part of the barbs, and the butt is furnished with a bulbous binding of loose string which serves as a packing for the harpoon head, when it is inserted in a reed shaft. This specimen was obtained by Mr. Vale from an old fisherman at Chipana, who said that his father made and used it.

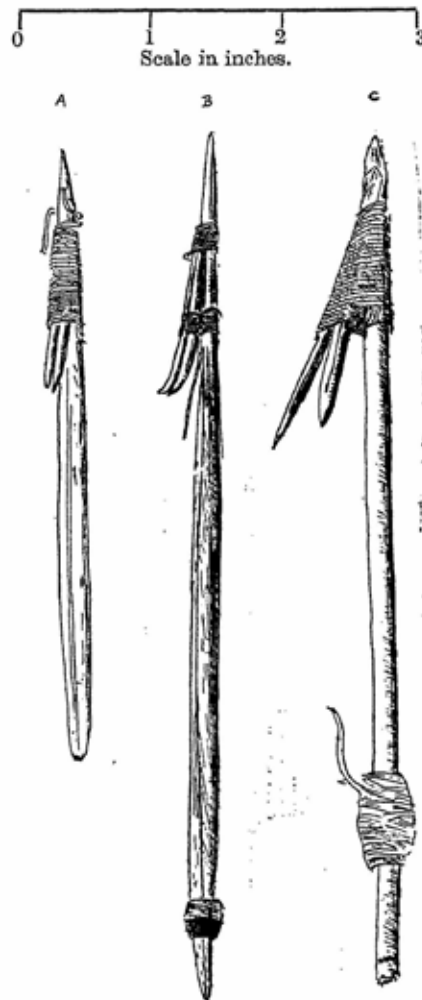
Now a very brief examination of the figure will show a remarkable similarity between *A* and *B* on the one hand and *C* on the other. The arrangement of two barbs on one side is found in both examples. The lashings, if analysed carefully, are similar. *B* and *C* pass a lashing round the last few turns of the binding to keep the barbs spread away from the shaft. The same function is accomplished in *A* by passing the last turn but three between the barbs and the shaft. In other words, the barbs are partially kept away from the shafts by a cushion of string on both the ancient and modern examples. Finally, the "packing" string at the butt, absent through decay in *A*, but present in *B*, is reproduced faithfully in *C*.

We have therefore a very interesting example of a pre-Columbian form of fishing apparatus surviving almost to the present day, though made of different material.

ADRIAN DIGBY.

Digby.

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HARPOON HEADS FROM TARAPETA PROVINCE, CHILE. A & B, ANCIENT BONE HEADS. C, MODERN IRON HARPOON HEAD.

## New Zealand.

Onslow.

A Historic 'Mere' in the possession of the Earl of Onslow.

**143** This Mere was presented by the Maori Chief Taonui Hikaka of the Ngati—Rora Hapu of Ngati—Maniapoto to the late Earl of Onslow when Governor of New Zealand in April, 1890. It was made of a piece of Greenstone that was called Whakamoetu and which belonged to the Chief Rora, who was son of Maniapoto, from which ancestor the great tribe of Maniapoto takes its name. The stone was cut into two parts in Rora's time—one part was made into a Mere, the other part remained in its natural state. Rora handed them to his son Tutaemaro, and at the latter's death they passed to his son Paruparu. Paruparu hid—buried—the unfinished portion of the stone somewhere near his Kainga or home. He was killed at the battle of Kawhia and the hidden stone has never been found.

The Mere then passed into the hands of Paruparu's eldest son Te Hokotahi, who was killed fighting against the Whamganui, and subsequently to his son Te Rangituataea, and after his death to his son Ngarue, who handed it to his son Taonui Hikaka I, who was father of Taonui Hikaka II, who presented it to Lord Onslow.

From the time of Rora to Taonui Hikaka II is eight generations, or about 200 years; so that one may date Maniapoto at some time in the reign of Charles II, thus :—

MANIAPOTO  
RORA  
TUTAEMARO  
PARUPARU  
TE HOKOTAH  
TE RANGITUATEA  
NGARUE  
TAONUI HIKAKA I.  
TAONUI HIKAKA II.

ONSLow.



'MERE' IN THE POSSESSION OF THE EARL OF ONSLOW.

Note on an Early Egyptian Slate Palette. By Ernest S. Thomas. Illustrated.

**144** Fig. 1 is taken from the well-known slate palette in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,<sup>1</sup> of which a portion is in the British Museum. This palette, the most interesting of all the series, raises several problems; by the portrayal of a tantalisingly imperfect gowned figure, by the representation of men who either wear the penistasche, or bear evidence of a rare form of circumcision (see below), and of the long-necked antelope and crested bird, identified as the *gerunuk* and a species of hornbill, both peculiar to Abyssinia, Somaliland and Erytrea. Professor Petrie, Sir G. Elliot Smith and Dr. Seligman agree that the men represented are probably dwellers in the Eastern Desert, Hamites with a Negroid admixture. The two former write



FIG. 1. WELL-KNOWN SLATE PALETTE IN THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD.

<sup>1</sup> Whence this photograph was obtained by kind permission of the keeper, Dr. E. T. Leeds. Photographs of all the palettes are reproduced in *J.R.A.I.*, xxx (1900).

of them as wearing the penistasche and belt; but Dr. Seligman regards them as circumcised with the oblique cut, peculiar to-day (as far as he knows) to the Masai<sup>2</sup>; and he must surely be correct as a penistasche, which left the glans exposed, would defeat its purpose. Strabo<sup>3</sup> makes the suggestive statement that the Trogodytes of Ethiopia "deprive themselves of the prepuce, but some are circumcised like the Egyptians."

The racial type is not peculiar to this palette. It is seen on the Louvre palette, gored by a bull, and on the Narmmer palette, holding ropes on the *recto* side, but wearing the loin cloth. Dr. Seligman<sup>4</sup> notes the non-Negroid form of the nose, and compares the type with the tribes of the Eastern Desert and Erytrea, who, he has shown,<sup>5</sup> are ethnically related to the Pre- and Proto-dynastic Egyptians.

The Bishari in fig. 2,<sup>6</sup> if we allow for caricature in the palette figure, has a suggestive resemblance to the leading captive in fig. 1. The heaviness of nose in the full-face is lost in the profile; in fact, it is hardly recognisable as the same face.

The palette figure has no evident moustache, but the lips are even less negroid than the Bishari's. They rather resemble those of the Ababda (fig. 3), whose round mop of hair is also more like the palette figure's.

It is a reasonable supposition that at the date of this palette (3000 B.C. at a minimum), desiccation had not set in, sufficiently at any rate, to drive the fauna now characteristic of Erytrea and Somaliland so far south.

They may well have extended northwards to a region at a more reasonable distance from Egypt,

<sup>2</sup> *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vii (1914), p. 45, quoting Sir H. H. Johnston (*v. Uganda Protectorate*, ii, 807) to the effect that the operation often produces an enlargement at the *frenum* giving the appearance of a double glans. Compare the penis above the rear figure in fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, xvi, 4, 17, quoting Artemidorus. The people of Deira (French Somaliland coast) are also said (§5) to "deprive themselves of the prepuce."

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *J.R.A.I.*, xliii, 1913.

<sup>6</sup> From G. W. Murray's "Northern Beja," *J.R.A.I.*, lvii, 1927, 52, pl. 1.



FIG. 2. BISHARIN, FULL-FACE AND PROFILE.



FIG. 3. ABABDA, FULL-FACE AND PROFILE.

for conquest and trade, than these places. This supposition makes the ancient tradition that Punt (a region usually located in Somaliland by Egyptologists) was their fatherland far more plausible.

ERNEST S. THOMAS.

### Quaternary Climate.

Sayce.

**Climatic and Floristic Changes in Europe during the Quaternary Period.** By R. U. Sayce, M.A., *Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge.*

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The paper which was read by Dr. Simpson to the Royal Meteorological Society on 16 May, and reviewed in *Nature*, 26 May, again raises a question of much importance to students of anthropology and the natural sciences. There are many uncertainties as to what changes took place during the Quaternary period and many theories to account for them. The important work of Jessen and Milthers appears, however, not to have received in this country the attention it deserves.<sup>1</sup> These authors claim that there is in North-West Europe a series of interglacial deposits covered by glacial deposits and separated from a younger group of interglacial deposits, which in turn are covered by flow-earth or outwashed sand and clay. The latter occur outside the limit of the last glaciation. Pollen analysis of these deposits has enabled the authors to show that "the floristic-climatic development during the earlier stages of the last interglacial period reveal, stage by stage, conditions corresponding to those which mark the penultimate interglacial period as well as the post-glacial—a very considerable climatic oscillation characterizing the later stages of the last interglacial period."

Dr. Simpson's theory that large climatic changes are due to fluctuations of solar radiation implies that there should be a marked contrast between the climate of one interglacial period and that of the next; one ice-phase should be followed by a warm and moist period, and the next by a cold and dry period. The climatic changes of post-glacial times are fairly well known; we can trace the successive stages that led up to a warm climatic optimum, moist in Atlantic times and drier in sub-Boreal times. If Dr. Simpson's theory is correct, the last interglacial period should have been a cold one; but the forest and climatic history of that period as described by Jessen and Milthers is as follows:—

*Zone a.* Species of arctic mosses.

*Zone b.* *Dryas octopetala*, *Salix herbacea*, *S. reticulata*, *S. phylicifolia*, *Betula nana*. During the time represented by these two zones the climate must still have been rigorous. Gradually it became milder, though remaining of a continental type. Temperate plants began to arrive and forests grew, consisting at first of pines and later of broad-leaved trees.

*Zone c.* *B. nana* disappears. *B. pubescens* and *Pinus silvestris* arrive.

*Zone d.* *P. silvestris* and *B. pubescens* dominant. *Populus tremulus*. Species of the mixed oak forest arrive.

*Zone e.* *P. silvestris* and *Ulmus cf. glabra* culminate. *B. pubescens* common. Thermophile aquatic plants come in.

*Zone f.* *P. silvestris* and *B. pubescens* retreat. Maximum of mixed oak forests (*Quercus*, *Ulmus*, *Tilia*), *Alnus*, *Corylus*. *Carpinus betulus* and *Picea excelsa* immigrate. *Brasenia purpurea*, *Dulichium spathaceum*, *Trapa natans*. This association indicates a climatic optimum with a July temperature about 18°C. "The climate of Jutland and N.W. Germany in that part of the interglacial period which corresponds with *Zone f* was no less Atlantic in character than the climate of the Litorina period in post-glacial times." At the beginning of this period a marine transgression took place, and a warm, Lusitanian fauna migrated into the Baltic.

*Zone g.* *Carpinus betulus* culminates; mixed oak forest retreats. *Picea excelsa* common.

*Zone h.* *Picea excelsa* dominant; *P. silvestris* and *B. pubescens* common. *Dulichium spathaceum* and *Brasenia purpurea* rare. *Carpinus* disappears. During the time corresponding to *Zones g* and *h* the land was probably rising, the temperature falling, and the climate becoming more continental. The deciduous forests were being replaced by coniferous forests.

*Zone i.* *P. silvestris*, *Picea excelsa*, *B. pubescens*, *Populus tremulus*.

<sup>1</sup> Knud Jessen and V. Milthers: *Stratigraphical and Palaeontological Studies of Interglacial Fresh-water Deposits in Jutland and North-West Germany*. Pp. 379 + an atlas of xl plates of sections and photographs. Danmarks geologiske Undersøgelse, København, 1928.



*Zone k.* *B. nana* heaths and sub-arctic swamps; a poor, northerly, aquatic flora. Toward the end there occurred some *B. pubescens*, *P. silvestris*, *Picea excelsa*, *Juniperus communis*. The July temperature must have fallen to about 12° C., and a great advance of the ice must have taken place on the Scandinavian peninsula. In the period corresponding to the next two zones the climate must have improved again.

*Zone l.* Deciduous trees attain a second maximum. *Brasenia purpurea*, *Dulichium spathaceum*, and *Trapa natans* occur.

*Zone m.* *B. pubescens*, *P. silvestris*, *Picea excelsa*, *B. nana*.

*Zone n.* *Betula nana* heaths, *B. pubescens*, and a poor aquatic flora. By now the July temperature must have been down again to about 12° C., and the ice-sheet advancing.

The penultimate interglacial period apparently had a simpler and perhaps shorter history. It can be briefly summarized as follows:—*Zones a* and *b* have not been found. *Zone c.* *B. pubescens* dominant, *P. silvestris*, and traces of *Picea excelsa*. *Zone d.* *P. silvestris* dominant. Mixed oak forest species arriving. *Zone e.* *Ulmus maximum*. *Pinus* and *Betula* declining. During the period corresponding to *Zones c-e* the climate, which was cool at first, gradually became milder but remained continental. *Zone f.* *P. silvestris* and *B. pubescens* minimum. Mixed oak forest: *Quercus* sp., *Corylus avellana*, *Alnus glutinosa*, *Tilia* sp. culminate. This assemblage represents a warm climatic optimum and an Atlantic climate. *Zone g.* No *Carpinus* zone of this interglacial period has been found in Jutland. *Zone h.* *P. silvestris* dominant. First maximum of *Picea excelsa*. Mixed oak forest species disappear. *Zone i.* *P. silvestris* dominant. Second maximum of *Picea excelsa*. *B. pubescens* frequent. *Zone k.* *B. pubescens*, *P. silvestris*. During the time corresponding to *Zones h-k* the climate became more continental and gradually grew cooler.

It would appear, therefore, that the climatic and floristic changes, which took place in Jutland and North-West Germany during the last two interglacial periods and in post-glacial times, in spite of differences in detail, followed very similar general courses. Even the *Littorina* marine transgression, which was contemporary with the mixed oak wood maximum, can be matched by the Eem Sea of the last interglacial, and probably by the Holstein Sea of the penultimate interglacial. During the penultimate interglacial period the temperature does not seem to have risen quite so high as it did during the periods of the Eem and *Littorina* Seas. Woldstedt has pointed out that the fauna of the Holstein Sea, though in many respects like that of the Eem Sea, differs from it in the complete lack of warm Lusitanian forms. There seems to be no evidence here of an alternation of warm and moist with cold and dry interglacial periods.

R. U. SAYCE.

## ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE : PROCEEDINGS.

**Newly Discovered Tribes in the Southern Watershed, Bismarck Ranges, New Guinea.** *Summary of a Communication by E. W. P. Chinnery. Presented 10 July, 1934.*

For a summary of this communication see MAN, 1934, 140, above, with Plate H. and illustrations in the text.

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**Huxley Memorial Lecture : The Indo-Iranian Borderlands, their Prehistory in the light of Geography and of recent Explorations.** *Delivered by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc. 31 July, 1934.*

The Huxley Memorial Lecture was delivered in the Great Hall of University College, London, on the occasion of the London Session of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. It will be printed as usual in the *Journal*, and also published separately.

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## PROCEEDINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**International Institute of African Languages and Cultures : Meeting of the Executive Council.** *London: May 17-18, 1934.*

The thirteenth meeting of the Executive Council of the International Institute of African

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Languages and Cultures was held in London on May 17 and 18, 1934, in the Conference Room at the Colonial Office, which had been kindly placed at the disposal of the Institute by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The session was presided

over by the Chairman and the following members were present: Rev. Father Dubois, Professor Ed. de Jonghe, Professor W. Köhler, Professor F. Krause, Professor B. Malinowski, Professor P. Rivet, Sir E. Denison Ross, Professor C. Conti Rossini, Professor P. Ryckmans, Rev. Professor W. Schmidt, Professor C. G. Seligman, Rev. E. W. Smith, Professor H. Labouret (Director), Professor D. Westermann (Director), Dr. J. H. Oldham (Administrative Director), Major H. Vischer (Secretary General), Miss D. G. Brackett (Secretary). Professor Barnard, representing the University of Capetown, and Principal Kerr, representing the South African Inter-University Committee on the Governing Body of the Institute, also attended the meeting. The Council was entertained by H.M. Government at a luncheon at the Park Lane Hotel.

The Council devoted the greater part of its time to a discussion of the sociological and linguistic research work of the Institute and its possible future extension. The work which was being carried out by Fellows appointed since 1931, when the Rockefeller Foundation made its generous grant, was also carefully considered. A number of additional grants for field work were made.

Professor Westermann reported on a lecture tour which he had made in South Africa at the request

of the Universities there. This had given him an opportunity of getting into touch with the large number of educational institutions.

Since the last meeting Professor Westermann's book, *The African To-day*, has been added to the list of Institute publications. It is intended to provide an introduction to the consideration of African problems as a whole and particularly to those problems of culture contact and change in native society towards which the research work of the Institute is directed.

Awards in the fourth competition for books by Africans in African languages were made.

Sixty-five new members were elected and it was announced that Professor Melville Herskovits had been appointed as the representative of the American Anthropological Association on the Governing Body, and Professor T. T. Barnard by the University of Capetown.

Professor Westermann undertook to represent the Institute at the forthcoming International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. The Council noted with satisfaction that the Chairman had consented to be one of the Vice-Presidents of the Congress and that other members were also taking an active part in its organisation.

C. G. SELIGMAN.

## REVIEWS.

**Melanesian Design: A Study of Style in Wood and Tortoiseshell Carving.** By Gladys A. Reichard. Columbia University Press, and Oxford University Press, 1933. 2 vols. 50s.

It is the general habit of British anthropologists to regard primitive art as evidence of almost anything but the expression of the aesthetic sense which is implicit in the terms 'ornament,' 'decoration,' and 'art' in such association. Some day this illogical attitude may be abandoned in response to the lead from America and Germany, where there is abundant proof that the study of primitive aesthetic is both compatible with scientific method and productive of highly practical results. Whether one agrees with all the author's conclusions or not, this book certainly adds considerable weight of justification for this approach to the subject.

Not only the abundance but the variety of Melanesian design is obvious to all save those who are content merely to classify it as 'curvilinear,' as distinguished from the Polynesian—a very leaky generalization as this book proves, time and again. In order to bring the subject within manageable bounds, the author has selected certain typical objects, more or less widely distributed throughout Melanesia, the conditions of selection being that: "1. The objects must be beautiful from my own point of view. 2. Each sort should have a fairly wide distribution. 3. There should be some overlapping in the occurrence of the objects chosen within a given area. 4. The art should be as free as possible from religious significance, since that may be understood only by questioning the natives." The first condition will probably

be condemned at sight as altogether inadmissible. Much, however, depends upon the precise nature and application of the test. The present writer has often noted with interest how often anthropologists, of most correct scientific habit, express in their writings their admiration for the beauty of this or that specimen of primitive art, and equally that such remarks are merely momentary digressions to which the writers attach no importance. Yet such objects were, in fact, intended by their makers to be 'pleasing to the eye,' as the common phrase goes, and that they should also please the eye of the highly 'civilized' anthropologist, accustomed to vastly different and highly sophisticated modes of attaining that end, does suggest the possibility that there may be, after all, some 'common-human' basis of judgment, underlying racial and personal preferences, and that it may be definable in scientifically valid and practicable terms. In practice, then, this first condition means that choice has been limited to such objects as exhibit, in shape or decoration, or both, just those essentially structural principles, such as symmetry, relative proportion and trajectory of line, and distribution of mass, by which the aesthetic intuition expresses itself the world over, and without which such terms as 'ornament' and 'art' in the present sense are devoid of meaning. This systematic classification and analysis of the selected material proves beyond question that these principles are capable of strictly objective application as instruments of study.

The chosen objects are, principally, the carved wooden bowls and tortoiseshell ornaments for which the author adopts the New Ireland name, *kap-kap*,

and both of which, as the admirable distribution-map shows, are widely distributed in Melanesia. In giving her reasons for adopting this method, Miss Reichard has something to say about that which still seems to hold the field in this country, and which proceeds "by arranging objects in series" which purport to point out gradual developments "from realistic to purely geometric designs, for example"; or from simple geometric to highly-realistic, as expounded by Haddon, Balfour, and Stolpe. Somewhat surprisingly she finds Stolpe "somewhat more convincing than others" in respect of his developmental sequence for design in the Hervey Islands, which, in fact, relies on an assumption of representational origin for Manganian patterns, for which there is no actual evidence whatever. This method is criticized for the common lack of any chronological confirmation, although sequence in time is implicit in these series; the high possibility of error in the interpretation of representational content, and the "tendency towards evaluation implicit in the terms progression and 'degeneration.'" Several instances are given in the course of this study, where there is equal warrant for assuming development either away from or towards realism, and certain designs on the Admiralty Island bowls which present equally feasible 'proofs,' according to this method, of derivation from either the human form or the crocodile. The 75 examples admirably reproduced in the text, and the 640 photographs and outlines in the second volume, provide a rich store of material for study of these objects, such as has not been available hitherto, especially as it has not been selected to fit any particular theory of development.

The general objective is to define the characteristics of Melanesian design, the local variations and interchange between different areas; and the results obtained by a technique of analysis which centres on the structural integration of form as pattern, rather than on the form-elements apart from their context, provide a very valuable contribution to the study of Melanesian art in particular and of primitive art in general.

A tentative attempt to define three 'schools' of bowl-designers, and even several 'branches' for each, is perhaps somewhat venturesome, but this section on "The Habits of Artists" does bring forward very important factors which are too seldom considered, especially by those who hold that variations are due mainly to the absent-mindedness of 'successive copyists,' or to an inadequateness of tools, which is (more often than not) flatly contradicted by the results. Very few of these objects could have been made without a long and intelligent self-training in the technique of manufacture, in which there is always room for no little individuality and contrivance; and that personal initiative should stop short of imaginative design is unlikely. The whole book provides very useful comment on the elasticity of convention. The final chapter on "General Principles of Melanesian Art" deserves a notice to itself. Some interesting observations on the spiral, with a useful comparison between the

Massim and New Zealand forms, is to be noted. The consideration of certain of the latter, as spirals, however, rather misses their formal function and effect. This book will rank with such studies of primitive art as *The Pueblo Potter* and other American contributions which have so ably followed the lead of Professor Boas. W. PAGE ROWE.

#### Malekula. A Vanishing People in the New Hebrides.

By A. Bernard Deacon. Edited by Camilla H. Wedgwood, with a preface by Dr. A. C. Haddon.

London: George Routledge & Sons. 9½ x 6½.

xxviii + 789 pp. 24 plates, illustrations and 3 maps. Price, 42s.

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The thanks of all ethnologists are due to Miss Camilla Wedgwood for giving us, after many years of labour, the results of Deacon's field work in Malekula. As those acquainted with his already published paper on 'The Regulation of Marriage in Ambrym' know, Deacon was a first-class investigator, whose loss from blackwater fever on the eve of his returning home is one of the greatest blows ethnology has suffered.

The cultural setting of this work is given in a final chapter in which Deacon postulates an early period in which the whole of the Northern New Hebrides was matrilineal with a six-class system of relationship similar to that now found in Ambrym, without the patrilineal element now present there. The six-class system was later modified into a simple dual organization, still matrilineal, owing to the introduction of marriage with the widow of the mother's brother, and it is this simpler form that survives in all the northern islands of the group. Into the southern islands, however, including Malekula, a new culture was introduced, with patrilineal descent and local exogamy, characterized by the wearing of a fringe-skirt by the women and penis-wrapper by the men, circumcision (modified except among the Big Nambas into incision), the use of upright slit gongs, the musical bow and a special type of basketry. Later, the matrilineal area was invaded by a light-skinned people introducing among other elements kava-drinking, tattooing, irrigation for the cultivation of taro, the mythological system centring round the figure of Tagaro and the decimal system of counting. This he calls the Mat-Skirt culture, referring to the dress worn by the women. Parts of the patrilineal area were also partially affected by it, notably in the adoption of this dress by women in most districts of Malekula.

Finally, "what has most forcibly struck almost every traveller and resident in this part of the world is the presence throughout every one of these islands of a graded society similar to the *Sukwe* of the Banks Islands." This he attributes to a fourth and latest migration of what he calls the "Secret Society culture," of which perhaps the most important seat is Malekula, where not only do the stones and images connected with it meet the eye on entering any village dancing ground, but the round of ceremonial activities and the pig-culture connected with them permeate the whole of life.

It is with the manifestations of this culture in the South-Western and what are here called the North-Western (really North-Central) districts that this volume chiefly deals. Among the many societies four stand out as being of the greatest importance. The first is the public graded institution known throughout Malekula and the neighbouring islands by many variants of the word rendered elsewhere by the reviewer as *Maki* (in the north-east) and *Menggi* (in the south-west), and for which Deacon adopts the form *Nimangki*. There are here over thirty grades in this society, in which

the central object erected (at which the candidate sacrifices a tusked boar and receives his new grade title) changes with the importance of the grade from small images of wood and tree fern to plain monoliths and finally stones carved to represent the human form, said to receive the spirit of the candidate after death and at the same time to contain those of the founder of the grade and of all subsequent initiates. This public society corresponds to the Banks Islands *Sukwe*, while a more secret graded society, *Nalawan*, corresponds, in its closer association with the dead and its use of masks and sacred noises, to the more secret *Tamats*.

A yet more secret society, *Nevinbur*, centres round a resurrection drama, while in the background of all, jealously guarded by hereditary magicians, lies the rite on which the existence of the race itself depends, called the 'Making of Man.' This supreme mystery depends for its sanction on a belief in certain culture heroes called in the various districts *Ambat*, *Kabat*, *Hambat* and *Hambut*, from whom the clan magicians are descended and derive their titles, and corresponding to the Banks Islands *Quat*. In the district of *Mewun*, from which Deacon obtained his best account of the rite, the chief *Kabat* is said to have been buried "in a sitting position . . . set upon a flat stone which was supported by two upright stones," in a "dolmen-like tomb . . . covered over with a mound of earth and small stones," and "his body never decayed." Within this megalithic tomb *Butwanabaghap's* [the chief *Kabat's*] remains still rest, as fresh as on the day he died, and annually at the festival . . . they are solemnly washed in order that mankind may be made fertile and prosperous." His sons procreated a number of stones, from which the clan magicians are descended. In the same rite each of the ten clan magicians sits upon the stone from which he is descended, "he alone of all men having the right to do so," after which they all have incestuous intercourse with women of their own and other villages, thus necessarily violating all rules of clan exogamy. The few details regarding this key rite—Deacon calls it "the perfect secret society"—were obtainable only on account of the fact that owing to the appalling depopulation of this district it is no longer performed. In the North-Western district a rite similar to it is still practised, but the secret is so well guarded that Deacon was unable to gain any knowledge of it apart from the fact that it exists. The culture heroes round whom it centres are said to have been white-skinned, to have introduced the pottery no longer made by the natives but surviving specimens of which are used for magical and mortuary purposes, and, unlike the present inhabitants, not to have been cannibals.

The 'Secret Society culture,' of which this mythology forms a part, is patrilineal in descent, inheritance and succession; Deacon attributes to it the rigid sex dichotomy now prevailing in *Malekula*, chieftainship (now only found in comparatively pure state among the *Big Nambas*), the cult of the dead and of the skulls of the dead (exemplified in the South-West by the making of effigies surrounded by the dead man's own skull on which a face is modelled), the erection of tree-fern images, the cult of the cecropia, croton, erythrina and cordyline, the erection of stone structures such as dolmens, monoliths and stone images, totemism; the institution of taboo, the use of the spear, the bull-roarer, the system of signalling by means of gong-rhythms, the giving of a pig as a burnt-offering, the conch trumpet, and finally the large sea-going canoes, which he regards as probably "the vehicles whereby the culture reached these shores."

All these subjects and the prolific rites connected with most of them are treated with a wealth of detail in this book, as well as such matters as kinship and the relation

between the sexes, initiation with its accompanying hoaxes and male homo-sexuality, warfare and magic. There is unfortunately, however, but little new information regarding the head-deformation for which the natives of the South-Western districts are famous, though there is a description of one of the dances performed only by those with heads so 'beautified.'

Deacon was possessed not only of that sympathy and appreciation of the native point of view, amounting at times to admiration, which is essential to good field work, but also of brilliant powers of analysis. He was fully alive to the extraordinarily dramatic nature of *Malekulan* ritual and dancing and of the beauty of its music, and gong-rhythms, and gives at times vivid descriptions of them. The depopulation of the South-Western district is now almost complete, that of the North-Western is already under way. This fact probably goes far to explain the comparative lack of detail in regard to domestic and social life. No part of Melanesia is, however, richer in ritual practices than *Malekula*. That much of this ritual and belief should have been rescued is of the very greatest importance. We can only regret that Deacon did not live to fill in details from personal experience, and to give his interpretation of the mass of ritual here necessarily left unexplained and of its place in relation to the archaic culture of which it forms a part.

The arrangement of the work is good. The editing of another's field work is no easy matter and perhaps explains the many blunders in transcribing native terms and the failure to divide out words into their component parts. Such expressions as 'the *Ninangki*,' 'the *Nalawan*,' are philologically confusing, being the initial *ni-* and *na-*, themselves articles, and the respective nouns *Mangki* and *Lawan*, facts of no little importance in comparative study. Confusing also are such glomerates as *metelōōm*, 'thy (*sōm*) sister's son (*metelō*),' or *naainggol*, where *na* is the article, *ai* the general word for wooden structure and *nggol* the word describing the structure in question; or phrases like 'a man will always be *ivel*,' where *i* means 'he is.' References to other published work leave much to be desired in point of view of accuracy and much of Deacon's own work fully written up has been unnecessarily and not always accurately paraphrased. More serious than these, however, is the fact that, despite the insertion of many of her own observations, there is throughout most of the text no indication whatever as to what phrase or opinion is Deacon's and what has been inserted by the editor; thus, where contradictions occur between detail and generalization there is no means of estimating which is most likely to be correct. The only exceptions to this lamentable lack of scientific treatment are such details as have been placed in initialled footnotes and a minimum of passages quoted direct from Deacon, most of which have been unaccountably relegated to small type. There are, moreover, cases in which considerable doubt exists as to the correct interpretation of Deacon's notes. In some instances this is indicated, but the reader is not given the evidence to judge for himself. In one case, at least, that of initiation in South *Lambumbu*, which the reviewer has been able to check through reference to his own notes, passages have been inserted which in fact belong to another district.

The book is well produced, with good maps and illustrations. It closes with a series of native texts, with parallel translations, a glossary of terms employed and an indifferent index. JOHN LAYARD.

**The Conquest of the Maya.** By J. Leslie Mitchell. 279 pp. London: Jarrolds, 1934. Price 18s.

**151** This book does not contribute anything new to the study of the Maya except to advocate the views of Professor Elliot Smith and Professor Perry on



the diffusion of culture. This is not the place to discuss these theories. We find here the usual elephants, makaras, Indra-Ganesha, and so on. It can only be said that the theory is presented in an extremely unconvincing fashion. The author is quite right in questioning the somewhat dogmatic attitude of many American writers in absolutely ruling out all old world influence, and he also has the reviewer's entire sympathy in thinking that far too much weight is given to Brinton's authority. But, while future research may very possibly show some influence from the old-world, there is at present not sufficient definite evidence of it, and those who would be inclined to view favourably a moderate diffusionist case based on reasonable evidence will not be disposed to accept a crude theory of diffusion based upon unproved assertions and an impossible chronology. The author rightly disagrees with some of the exaggerated views of Maya culture, and thinks the Maya of the Old Empire were not so pacific as they are often said to have been, and he notes that they practised human sacrifice; but he himself errs much more on the other side by representing the Maya as an almost pathologically degenerate people. After all deductions, their attainments were considerable, and as regards cruelty and dirt they were on much the same level as contemporary Europe. The American school, which the author attacks, is strong in its accurate presentation of the facts, but in this book there are a surprising number of inaccurate statements and some which are inconsistent with the author's own theories and his statements elsewhere in it.

He "cuts the Gordian knot of the calendar-discussion," to use the words of Professor Elliot Smith in his introduction, by adopting a correlation of Professor Lehmann's nearly thirty years old which has now no following among students of the calendar, but gives no evidence in support of this scheme which makes 9-0-0-0 fall in A.D. 700, while at the same time he says that 4 Ahau 8 Cumhu, the starting point of the Long Count, was about 4,000 years before the Christian era, thereby making an error of nearly 1,000 years on his own chronology. Also, he seems to accept Dr. Spinden's sundial at Copan with its regulation of the calendar, overlooking the fact that this would involve the acceptance of the Spinden correlation and therefore the rejection of the Lehmann one. Again, he apparently agrees with Dr. Teeple's results regarding the supplementary series, not noticing that this would also rule out the Lehmann correlation, and he says that the lunar month was "28 or 29 days," an obvious error. Further, we are told by him that, given the existence of agriculture, the *haab* (meaning 365-day year) is a necessity. This is totally wrong. Both in the old world and the new the ordinary type of agricultural (and for that matter pre-agricultural) calendar which is found is the luni-solar one. In the old world the only calendars having the 365-day year are the Egyptian, Persian and Armenian, and the last two are borrowed from Egypt, while in the new world all the calendars having a 365-day year have a common origin with that of the Maya, so the author has here thrown away what is one of the best arguments for his own diffusionist thesis.

Coming to matters of detail, it is surprising to be told that it was a characteristic of Yaxchilan to erect stelae with no date reference. Practically all of the monuments there are dated, though many of them are only Calendar Round dates, but there are also Initial Series. The unnamed stela at Copan figured on the plate opposite p. 80 is said to belong to the Archaic (Early) Period. It is, however, Stela 6, the date of which is 12-10-0-0-0, therefore in the Middle Period; while Stela P., which does belong to the Early Period, is

wrongly said to belong to the Middle Period. There are also several errors in the Maya dates cited for various monuments. The topmost inscription of the Rosetta Stone is said to be in "hieratic characters, the old priestly hieroglyphic writing of Egypt." It is not in hieratic but in hieroglyphic writing, and this is not the same as hieratic.

Having disposed of the Old Empire chronology by not facing the calendrical difficulties involved, he disposes of that of the New Empire by simply ignoring the statements of the *Books of Chilán-Balaam*. It does not mend matters to substitute more or less hypothetical history for the bald statements of the old records. Still more remarkable is it to be told that the *Books of Chilán-Balaam* were written in 'Zuyua,' which is said to be literary Yucatecan. In fact, Zuyua is not Yucatecan language, either literary or vulgar, but was the name of a place, the same which the author spells Zuiva on the next page without noting any connection. The 'word of Zuyua' in the *Books of Chilán-Balaam* was not a language but a ritual code of secret knowledge. He also wrongly says that the settlement at Peten Itza, on what he calls 'Lake Chultuna' (meaning Lake Peten), was founded by Toltec refugees. It was founded by the Itza refugees, as even the name shows. It is not correct to say that a cenote could be made into a chultuna. The two things are quite distinct. There is no ground for assuming it probable that the Maya ever domesticated the deer nor the quetzal either. That bird is only found in a limited area, and as it feeds on insects on the wing, Mr. Eric Thompson has shown that it could not have been domesticated. But it is not easy to see what the author means by a quetzal, because he translates Quetzalcoatl as Hummingbird Snake. Now coatl means snake, so quetzal on this translation must mean hummingbird instead of its correct meaning of trogon. Also, we are told that before the Spanish conquest "cocks crew" in Yucatan. Surely it is common knowledge that the domesticated fowl was only introduced into the American continent by the Spaniards. The Cakchiquel are referred to by the author as "barbarous," their name being spelled by him "Kaxchiquel." If the Maya are regarded as civilized, the Quiché and Cakchiquel could not be called barbarous, although admittedly they had a lower variety of the same general culture. He also says that these two peoples had not got the calendar. This is incorrect, though it is true that they were without the Long Count of the Maya. It is not correct to say that pulque was the national drink of the Maya. Dr. Beyer says it was practically unknown to them. We are frequently told by the author about a flaying sacrifice alleged to be practised by the Maya in which the victims were flayed alive. Landa's account of the flaying sacrifice clearly shows that the victims were dead before their bodies were flayed. However, the author strenuously tries to paint the Maya as black as possible, and lays stress on their assumed cruelty in the treatment of slaves, which, to judge by the Aztec evidence (we have little for the Maya), was better than in Christian Europe. Incidentally, he refers to the Maya cultivators as "helots." To judge from Landa's truthful pages, they only became helots indeed after the Spanish conquest, a conquest which the author says was fully justified.

RICHARD C. E. LONG.

**The African To-day.** By Diedrich Westermann. Published for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures by the Oxford University Press, 1934. xv + 343 pp. Price 7s. 6d.

The phenomenally rapid transition which African



peoples have been forced to undergo in the last fifty years or so has proved to be far from the unmixed benefit to them that its initiators anticipated, and missionaries and administrators, confronted with unexpected difficulties in the pursuit of their various aims, are turning more and more for assistance to the scientific analysis of the situation by the method of social anthropology. The African Institute, founded by persons with this practical interest in native cultures, exists to further such studies, and this book by one of its Directors presents to the potential student a concise survey of the principal problems which will claim his attention.

Wide as is the diversity of African societies, they are all alike experiencing the impact of a foreign culture superior in knowledge and technical skill and able to force upon them at any rate the forms of alien institutions. It is the inevitable clash which the introduction of each element of European civilisation must create in its particular sphere that forms the basis of Dr. Westermann's generalisations. Thus he discusses, under the general subject of economics, those changed circumstances that have made impracticable pastoral and agricultural systems formerly well adapted to native needs, the contrast between labour as a tribal duty and work in European employment, the difficulty of maintaining in modern conditions of land shortage the cattle that Bantu culture requires for ceremonial rather than economic purposes, the decline of native arts and crafts. The influence on family life of Christian ethics on the one hand, and of the economic independence of the wage-earner on the other, are fully analysed, as is the

disintegration of other social groupings whose foundations were partly economic; here perhaps the traditional 'collectivism' of the African is a concept which needs to be more closely examined. The various attempts which have been made to utilize native authorities as organs of European government are described; Dr. Westermann advocates the method of Indirect Rule because "it builds up rather than destroys." Native religions are next discussed, and other causes of their decay than the obvious influence of Christian teaching are mentioned—for example, new activities which leave no time for attendance at lengthy ceremonies.

Two chapters are devoted to education. The first welcomes as the real friends of the African those missionaries who "do not feel called to bring the 'civilisation of a European nation to the African, but to 'bring the Gospel,' and traces for them a constructive programme. The second, dealing with the language question, on which Dr. Westermann is especially well qualified to speak, argues strongly, though without underestimating practical difficulties, for the use of the vernacular in native education.

Two final chapters deal with the growth of new native groupings in industrial districts and the possibility of organising such groups into real communities, and with the problem of the emotional antagonism between black and white.

A comprehensive introduction to the problems which arise in one form or another in every African territory was badly needed, and this very readable volume admirably meets the need.

L. P. MAIR.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### India: Ethnology.

**153** **Codrington.**  
 SR.—On 17 November, 1933, Dr. J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., the Census Commissioner for India, gave a second lecture before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts, summarizing the results of the recent census operations. The paper, as now printed (No. 4226, Vol. LXXXII), contains a section devoted to Race. Questions of such complexity would, perhaps, have been more fittingly discussed before a more specialized audience. Certain statements made, however, demand elucidation, if further misunderstanding is to be avoided.

Dr. Hutton recognizes six distinct racial elements in India. Firstly, "the earliest race still represented in India was probably the Negrito, which survives in the Andamanese, and, in a much hybridized form, in some South Indian jungle tribes." Secondly, there was a race of "probably Australoid affinities, perhaps to be associated with the remains recently discovered in Palestine and in Java." This "may be labelled 'proto-Australoid' and is widespread throughout India, and may be detected in all castes, though but rarely in the higher ones." Thirdly, an immigration of Austro-Asiatic speaking peoples has left traces from the Punjab Hills to the Bay of Bengal and beyond. Fourthly, there was an immigration from Mesopotamia of Dravidian speaking, Mediterranean and Armenoid peoples, who were responsible for the civilization of Mohenjo-Daro. Fifthly, the disappearance of this civilization is associated with a migration from the Pamirs southward of a brachycephalic race of Eurasiatic Alpine type, which spread southward as far as Coorg on the one hand, and Bengal on the other. Sixthly, these brachycephals are said to have been Aryan speaking, and to have been in close association with the "true Aryans," who descended upon India about 1500 B.C. It is pointed out that the distribution of

brachycephaly corresponds "fairly well" with the "outer band" of Indo-Aryan languages as found to-day.

Dr. Hutton postulated that race was no longer to be confused with language, but it is evident that this habit of thought pervades the racial analysis here set forth. It cannot be too clearly stated that no craniological or anthropometrical evidence has yet been published which supports the commonly postulated 'Negrito' element in the population of India. Dr. Guha has commented upon the hair forms of certain South Indian peoples, but the craniometrical evidence is quite clear. In the same way, there is no evidence of 'Australoid' types ever having been widely distributed in India. It is true that one of the Adichannalur skulls studied by Zuckerman (*Bulletin Madras Museum*, Vol. II, Pt. 1) has Australian likenesses, but Zuckerman himself is of Turner's opinion (*Trans. Royal Soc. Edin.*, Vol. XL, Pt. 1, No. 6, p. 106) that only one widely distributed cranial type can be distinguished south of the Ganges, which is best labelled 'Dravidian.' This allows the existence of North-Western Indian types, but makes it clear that no definite 'pre-Dravidian' stratum is discernible. With reference to the alleged European likenesses of the Dravidian type, Harrower's opinion (*Trans. Royal Soc. Edin.*, Vol. LIV, Pt. 3, No. 13) that there is no craniometrical evidence to show any connection between the Dravidian peoples and any European peoples must be given serious attention. With regard to the identification of brachycephaly in the Deccan, and elsewhere, as 'Alpine,' it must be realized that brachycephaly, as an isolated fact, means nothing. The crucial point is morphology and the general characteristics. Indian brachycephaly in the Deccan is associated with extreme microcephaly, a point of great significance and interest, for certain sub-types of the dolichocephalic Dravidian type are also microcephalic.

It is evident that Dr. Hutton has approached the

scanty facts from the linguistic point of view, which he himself has confessed should be avoided. Anthropology, if it is ever to be taken seriously, must be approached biologically. At all events, modern anthropometrical opinion should be given full weight in any discussion of matters of race. It is a moot point whether theory of any kind is desirable in a Census Report, which should be a corpus of facts. That the machinery of any census can only arrive at generalizations is evident. The tendency should be towards localization, for, in the study of man, localization means precision. The actual make-up of the numerous castes in India will never be known and the available anthropometrical data will remain unreal, until some conception of the genetic, marriage areas involved is reached. For caste is defined by marriageability and men have to be begotten before they can be measured.

K. DE B. CODRINGTON.

#### Pattini: Fasting.

SIR,—*Pattini* was one of the effective means of getting one's wrong redressed, and it was widely resorted to in old days. Not only was it an effective method for individuals, but it was successfully

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STONE STATUE USED IN *PATTINI*.

resorted to even by social groups. We have even now available sites of *Pattini-puras*, houses of fasting at Trichur, at Perumanam, about six miles to the south of Trichur, and at Kalati, near Chalakuti (all places in Cochin State), where some time in the past the community went on hunger strike *en masse*.

When a local chief becomes very aggressive and trespasses on the elementary rights of the people, the Brahmin leaders all assemble together in a hall especially

built for the purpose where every arrangement for a grand feast has already been made. Then they all sit down for their midday meal after their orthodox religious rites and have water poured into their hands as the first preliminary. After all have been given water and before they have performed their *prāṇāhuti* (oblation to the vital airs), the leader amongst them stands up and publicly announces the name of the chief who has hurt them. Then he narrates the wrongs he has done and finally calls upon the assembled guests to get them redressed before they touch their food. Thereupon the Brahmins all throw down the water in their hands: they rise up and take a vow that they will not eat until their wrongs are avenged. Each one again sits down in front of his leaf to fast and pray. There are indeed some conditions imposed upon the fasters and one of the rules is that the period of fasting should never exceed seven days. If the doer of the wrong, the chief, does not turn over a new leaf before the week is out, there is yet a higher rite prescribed. On the eighth day all the strikers leave the hall in a body and after purifying themselves by a plunge in the tank or river, they perform their daily rituals. In the meanwhile they have got ready a wooden or stone statue of the wicked chief; this is then invested with life by the performance of what is known as *Jīvapratishtha* and then hanged in front of the temple wherein is enshrined the patron diety of the villagers. This final rite over, the *Grāmakkārs* all leave the village in a body in search of a new abode, where alone they break their fast. This final rite is supposed to be potent enough to bring instantaneous destruction of the offender, and if tradition is to be believed, none ever escaped the dreadful doom thus invoked upon him. The accompanying illustration is the photograph of one such statue located in front of the shrine at Kalati near Chalakuti.

*Pattini* then is a sanctified weapon of defence which religious leaders in Malabar have instituted against oppressive chiefs. But this is a weapon only against man-wrought evils: for divine ills the weapon of defence is prayer. Where a *Grāma-Pattini* has been once conducted, vedic sacrifices are no longer performed.

K. R. PISHAROTI.

#### Nayar Polyandry.

SIR,—Apropos of my notes on the subject of Nayar Polyandry (MAN, 99 and 337, 1932), further search for evidence of the manner in which it was regulated has shown some literary references to it in an unpublished MS. in the Oriental Manuscripts Library in Madras. The work is in Malayalam, obviously written by a Nambutiri Brahman of some learning in Sanskrit, Music and Drama. It is not possible to pronounce an opinion on the age of the work, since it is in the nature of a parody, lacking in seriousness and good taste, but from a consideration of the amount of archaisms present, it may be considered to be at least 150 years old.

The subject of the work is the quarrel and subsequent reconciliation of four Nambutiri Brahmins, who were the husbands of a Nayar woman, named Pattunni. She belonged to Cherpalcheri in Malabar where Nambutiris are very influential even now. The four men were getting on pleasantly and amicably, when one of them was tempted to manoeuvre and alienate two of the four from the Woman. The alienated men complained to the elder sisters and mother of the woman, who were on the side of the aggrieved husbands, and told her that her behaviour was improper. After some trouble peace was restored, the four husbands were asked 'to tap each other's hand,' to agree to be friends and to keep to one particular day for visiting the common wife.

Pornographic details of a very low type make the work unpublishable. We are able to glean from it that it was a common practice, among Namputiris, for three or four men to have a woman in common and that each contributed to her maintenance. Sexual life was regulated by some form of agreement arrived at among them, each man generally having his day of visit fixed.

It is not proper and fair to assume that all classes of society allowed such a polyandrous life as is described here, but the MS. does support the existence of polyandry in the region of the country where this scene is laid. The characters are not fictitious at all, as many of them belonged to fairly well-known *taravads* and *illams*.

A. AIYAPPAN.

#### Treatment of Fits by the Wambunga.

**156** SIR,—The medicine-men of the Wambunga, Tanganyika Territory, treat certain paralytic fits in an interesting manner. If the patient is a woman, the doctor has her placed in the centre of a ring



FIG. 1.

of dancers, a wooden female image (fig. 1), about 12 ins. tall, being laid beside her. Those present then perform a wild dance, *bungi*, around her until, so it is

said, the sickness 'is driven out of her into the image' and she eventually arises and joins them. What really happens to her, we do not know and we have not had an opportunity to watch a case being treated in this way. Maybe she is hypnotized into joining the dancers?

In the case of a man, a dance called *mandiru* is performed, but so far as we know no image is used. We have watched *mandiru*, though not when performed for this purpose, and have seen men work themselves into a frenzy in this wild, maddening dance.

A. T. CULWICK.  
G. M. CULWICK.

#### Fear of the Dead. (cf. MAN 1934, 136).

**157** SIR,—It was quite impossible for mankind to understand what we now mean by infection, till the microscope had been perfected in recent years.

Our own 'primitives' do not understand it. Last week a woman took a child with measles to see the Hendon Air Pageant. To members of the 'backward' races, and in all probability to prehistoric man, death was brought about by some form of violence or magic, 'magic' being a mysterious unknown force, the work of an unseen being. The slain man was believed to be enraged by being torn from life and eager for revenge. Both forms of death were held to be unnatural. Primitive man strove to devise means to avert the dead man's vengeance; to annul the magic.

When we examine the various funeral rites devised to make the dead man harmless, we find a large number are crudely disinfectant and antiseptic. Purification by water; by fire; by fumigation by means of antiseptic substances; the sweeping out and destruction of dust; a period of 'uncleanness' for persons in contact with the dead; burning of huts where death has taken place; use of salt water and of herbs with antiseptic properties, are made use of almost all the world over to prevent the dead man from becoming dangerous. If the proper means are not used at his funeral he will return and make himself disagreeable.

Having learnt that one dead man may be dangerous, all dead bodies were treated as dangerous no matter how they died.

Lying-in women are very liable to infection—especially septicæmia. To the 'primitive' this means they are very liable to attack by Evil spirits, the Evil Eye, and other forms of magic. Cut off in her prime by these evil creatures, the ghost of the woman would naturally be extremely dangerous.

The fear of ghosts and fear of evil spirits has, as one of its foundations, the disease germ. Where the dead are not feared, the evil spirit is. We call the horrid things streptococci, bacteria, spirochaetes, etc. What is in a name? We often use similar means to defeat them.

Persons who make mummies are as a rule 'unclean' for a time. Even the crudest attempts at preserving the body contain some form of disinfection—sun drying, roasting, pickling, use of herbs. The unknown men in the dim past, who hit on these methods, knew naught of science. They fumbled in the dark to ward off the mysterious dangers that lay in wait for them. And empirically they hit on some methods which we have perfected. They had no idea that disease could be carried by insects. But by using certain strongly-smelling things to frighten the evil spirits, they undoubtedly often warded off the insects.

Monsieur Jourdain, in the play, spoke prose without being aware of it. Finally, to Lord Raglan, no 'taking up of cudgels,' please. Let us try disarmament.

M. E. DURHAM.



A



1 20 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61  
2 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37  
3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

B



72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87  
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C



41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71  
10 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39  
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# INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

GROUP OF MEMBERS AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON: 2 AUGUST, 1934.

Photograph by "Photogeneral" Ltd., 137, Edgware Road, London, W.



# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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SEPTEMBER, 1934

### INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

With Plate I-J.\*

**Proceedings of the First Session, London, 30 July—4 August, 1934.** *By Professor John L. Myres, F.B.A., a General Secretary of the Congress.*

The origin and scope of this Congress have been already fully described in MAN (1933, 84, 133). The invitation to meet in London originated in the Royal Anthropological Institute, and was cordially supported by the Joint Committee for Anthropological Research and Teaching, on which all Universities and other institutions and societies engaged in these subjects in Great Britain are represented.

The British Organizing Committee included representatives of the Foreign Office, the India Office, the Dominions Office, the Colonial Office, the Education Office, the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Geographical Society, and many other scientific societies.

The Patron of the London meeting was His Royal Highness The Duke of York; the President, the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Onslow; the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Capt. T. A. Joyce; the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. H. G. Beasley; the General Secretaries, Professor J. L. Myres and Mr. Alan H. Brodrick; and the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Adrian Digby.

The meetings were held in University College, London, to the Provost and Council of which the Congress is greatly indebted for ample accommodation and the efficient and willing service of the staff.

A Loan Exhibition of anthropological and ethnological specimens from private collections was arranged by Mr. Hermann Spooner, in the Great Hall of the College; among the exhibitors were Captain R. S. Rattray, Captain T. A. Joyce, Dr. H. A. Gunther, Messrs. Anthony Butts, M. D. W. Jeffreys, W. O. Oldman, and A. C. Bossom, M.P.

The Inaugural Meeting in the Great Hall of University College was opened by His Royal Highness Prince George (in the unavoidable absence of the Patron, His Royal Highness The Duke of York), on Monday, 30 July. Delegates were present from more than fifty Governments, and two hundred academies, universities, and other institutions and societies. The total membership of the Congress was 1081, of whom 226 were Associates: about 850 were present.

At the Inaugural Meeting the President of the Congress delivered an address dealing with the practical applications of anthropological and ethnological studies in administration and public life generally. A summary is appended (MAN, 1934, 159).

The Huxley Memorial Lecture of the Royal Anthropological Institute was delivered by Sir Aurel Stein at the first evening meeting of the Congress, on 31 July. It dealt with "The Indo-Iranian Borderlands: Their Prehistory in the light of Geography and Recent Explorations," and was illustrated by photographs taken by the lecturer on successive archaeological expeditions, and



THE CONGRESS BADGE.

\* If sufficient identifications are received, a key-list will be published later.

by typical examples of antiquities brought to light in the course of his explorations. The lecture is summarized below (MAN, 1934, 160): it will be published in full in the *Journal*, and may also be obtained separately at the Institute's office. The lecturer was entertained at dinner, and received the Huxley Memorial Medal.

Other evening lectures were given by Professor T. C. Hodson (Cambridge), on "Aspects of the Census of India, 1931"; by Dr. R. R. Marett (Oxford), on "The Growth and Tendency of Anthropological and Ethnological Studies"; and by Professor J. B. S. Haldane (London), on "Anthropology and Human Biology." These lectures, together with the President's address, will be printed in full in the *Proceedings* of the Congress, which will shortly be published by the Royal Anthropological Institute. They are summarized below (MAN, 1934, 161, 162, 163).

At a Reception given by His Majesty's Government at Lancaster House on the evening of 30 July, the delegates and other members were welcomed by the Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Secretary of State for the Dominions, and Mrs. Thomas.

At the Royal College of Surgeons the Congress was received on the afternoon of 31 July, by Dr. John Beattie, the Keeper of the Museum. Miss Tildesley exhibited a special series of decorated skulls, preserved heads, skull-amulets, artificial deformations, mutilations and trepannings. Mr. Theodore McCown described the human bones found in the palæolithic deposits of Wady Mughara, near Athlit in Palestine. The osteological collections were open to members daily throughout the week.

The Treasurer of the Congress, Mr. H. G. Beasley, and Mrs. Beasley, invited the Congress on 1 August, to visit the Ethnographical Museum at Cranmore, and witness a display of folk dancing, kindly arranged by the English Folk Dance and Song Society.

On 2 August, the Trustees of the British Museum, represented by Sir Henry A. Miers, F.R.S., received the Congress in the Whale Room of the British Museum (Natural History).

The Royal Anthropological Institute, the Institute of Sociology, and the Warburg Institute arranged special exhibits during the Congress. Mr. and Mrs. Eumorfopoulos, Mr. Alexander Keiller, and Miss Estella Canziani allowed members to visit their private collections; and Mr. J. L. Starkey, gave special opportunity for members to see the antiquities discovered during the excavations of Sir Henry Wellcome at Tell-el-Duweir in Palestine.

A series of ethnological films was exhibited during the meeting by Mr. Alan H. Brodrick, and an international committee was established to promote the use of films in anthropological and ethnographical research, and to improve the facilities for storing and circulating such films.

The scientific work of the Congress was distributed among no less than eleven sections, the proceedings of which are separately described below (MAN, 1934, 164-174). In addition to formal communications, the numerous joint discussions gave opportunity for valuable interchange of experiences and opinions.

At the closing session, it was unanimously resolved that the invitation to hold the second session of the Congress at Copenhagen in 1938 be accepted, and that Dr. Thomas Thomsen, Director of the Danish National Museum, be elected President, and Professor Myres and Mr. Brodrick re-elected Secretaries.

Recommendations were adopted in regard to the teaching of anthropology and ethnology in schools and universities; the place of meeting of the International Congress of Americanists in 1936; the establishment of a section for biometry and biotypology at the Copenhagen Congress in 1938; the urgent need for further research into methods of investigating the mental aptitudes of African peoples; the creation of a permanent organization for the census of India; the training of missionaries and government officers in social anthropology; and the appointment of official ethnologists in all dependencies where indigenous populations are exposed to the clash of native and European culture.

Besides the committee on films already mentioned, special permanent committees of the Congress were established for the standardization of physical anthropology; for international research on Arctic peoples and cultures; and for the compilation of a comparative vocabulary of anthropological and ethnological terms.

After the close of the Congress visits were paid to the museums of Oxford and Cambridge, and in addition, a seven-day excursion of more than twenty members visited the museums of Liverpool, Chester, Manchester, Halifax, York, and Saffron Walden, and were most hospitably received at every point. The party was entertained at luncheon by the Mayor of Halifax, and at tea by the Bishop of Peterborough. At Abbot's Bromley, in Staffordshire, a special performance of the unique 'horn dance' by the villagers was arranged through the courtesy of the Vicar, Rev. A. R. Ladell.

JOHN L. MYRES.

Onslow.

**Anthropology in Administration.** *Summary of the Address of the President of the International Congress, the Right Honourable Earl of Onslow: July 30th, 1934.*

Anthropology can be of great use to those engaged in diplomacy and administration. One of the main functions of a diplomatist is to understand the people of the country to which he was accredited so as to inform his Government what they are thinking and talking about; this is true diplomacy. And it is even more true of Colonial Administration. Anyone who is called upon to govern an alien race differing completely from his own must try and get into their minds, appreciate and sympathize with their points of view, and acquire an adequate knowledge of their civilization, especially the system of land tenure, marriage, and inheritances of rank. Anthropological knowledge is a *sine qua non*.

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During the last century administrators were less inclined to endeavour to understand native races and to develop native civilization on its own lines, than to try and turn the native into a European. Even so great a man as Sir George Grey made this mistake in New Zealand. By his personality he acquired among the Maori people an influence which no European had previously attained or has subsequently equalled. He gradually undermined their tribal institutions and the prestige of the chieftains, replacing it with his own personal authority. When that was removed, the foundation of his system crumbled, and native troubles broke out. Experience proved that Grey was wrong: he would have done better to preserve and develop the existing Maori organization.

Such must be the right course in dealing with native races. It has taken us centuries to develop from the Maori state of stone-age culture. That the Maori have won through is due rather to their own toughness than to our help.

In more recent times the tendency has been to encourage native civilization to develop on its own lines and to absorb rather than to imitate European ideas. But the old idea of Europeanization is by no means dead, especially as regards methods of Government. In East Africa we have a community consisting of Europeans, Asiatics and Africans, with four distinct groups of native languages. It is impossible to solve the difficulties which such a community experiences, simply by imposing a copy of European methods.

The right course to pursue is to bring out all that is best in the native culture and to graft thereon the higher European civilization. We must keep the racial civilization as a base. To destroy all the tradition, institutions and habits of a people and then impose upon them alien methods and strange principles is the wrong way.

But you cannot bring out the best of a native civilization or develop and improve native culture unless you thoroughly understand it, and this is what Anthropology helps you to do. It is true, of course, that a knowledge of Anthropology will not make any man a sound practical administrator, any more than profound knowledge of the law will necessarily make a great advocate. Still, legal knowledge must be of value to an advocate, and anthropological knowledge equally to an administrator. It will not turn a bad official into a good one, but it will render the task of the good official easier.

I had the privilege of being Chairman of a Parliamentary Committee which enquired into and reported on the state of affairs in the various British Colonies and Mandated Territories in East Africa, and it was the unanimous recommendation of that Committee that the study of Anthropology among Colonial administrators should be encouraged, and Anthropology is one of the subjects that may be taken for the Civil Service Examination in India; so the principle has received the official recognition of His Majesty's Government. We have not perhaps provided sufficient facilities for men on leave

to undergo advanced courses; but this matter has been taken up by the Universities, and the Joint Committee for Anthropological Research and Teaching has done much good work in facilitating this type of study.

I wish to emphasize the great value that a knowledge of Anthropology has for those engaged in Colonial Administration or in any dealings with races of alien civilization.

But Anthropology can be applied more widely than in Colonial Administration. In the widest but the only proper sense of the term it is the scientific study of mankind and of all aspects of human life; but in its widest sense may come nearer home. The knowledge of the nations by each other is becoming increasingly important. Travel by air and by motor has shrivelled the surface of the globe. A science whereby men may come to a better knowledge of mankind and human life and each other will assume increasing practical importance.

#### Asia.

Stein.

**The Indo-Iranian Borderlands: Their Prehistory in the light of Geography and Recent Explorations.** *Summary of the Huxley Memorial Lecture of the Royal Anthropological Institute, delivered by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., Tuesday, 31 July, 1934.*

**160** These explorations were first carried out by Sir Aurel Stein while in the Archaeological Department of the Indian Government, in the years 1927 and 1928, and took him through the whole length of British Baluchistan and Makran. They were subsequently extended into Southern Persia by two prolonged journeys undertaken in 1932 and 1933 with the support of Harvard University and the British Museum. He has now returned from a third journey made through Fars, the ancient Persis, for which the British School in Iraq generously offered its help. The plentiful remains of the chalcolithic and later periods recovered in a region which has long remained inadequately explored archaeologically, claim interest as providing links with the earliest civilizations as yet known from Mesopotamia and Elam on the one hand, and from the Indus Valley on the other.

Desolate ground as much of this region is, it deserves the attention of the geographer and historical student on account of the great ethnic movements which have passed across it into India, and still make their effects felt in present-day problems of the Indian North-West frontier and elsewhere.

In outlining the geography of the Indo-Iranian borderlands, special reference was made to the shelter afforded in the high Hindukush valleys to those ancient communities of Dardic speech and Homo Alpinus type, which virile Pathan tribes, those latest Iranian invaders of the lands to the west of the Indus, have been steadily ousting from more fertile tracts.

The very limited economic resources of that ground must always have fostered predatory habits among sturdy semi-nomadic tribes occupying it. The raids, which until recent years used to threaten the settled population of British districts along the right bank of the Indus, from Wazirs and others, had, no doubt, their counterpart already in prehistoric times.

Sir Aurel Stein's attention was forcibly drawn to archaeological work in these borderlands by the discovery of a great site of chalcolithic civilization at Mohenjodaro, on the lower Indus. The abundant and very important remains brought to light there by the excavations of Sir John Marshall, the late Director of Archaeology in India, showed distinct affinity to antiquities of the earliest strata at Susa and other chalcolithic sites in south-western Persia. They could approximately be assigned to the beginning of the third millennium B.C. Together with finds of similar prehistoric remains in Transcaspiia and Sistan, they made it important to search the intervening areas for links between this earliest known Indian civilization and the ancient culture of Mesopotamia.

Prehistoric settlements were first traced west of the Indus, at a line of great mounds stretching along the barren foot of the southern Waziristan hills, on the administrative border of the Dera Ismail Khan district. The position of such large prehistoric settlements suggests climatic conditions more favourable than the present ones having once prevailed here. Can the 'desiccation' suggested for that region have been due to some change in the direction and extent of the rain-carrying south-west monsoon?

Discussing the probable line of migration followed by the Aryan tribes speaking Vedic Sanskrit, who conquered the Punjab about the second millennium B.C. and thence spread their Indo-Aryan tongue over Northern India and their cultured influence over the whole subcontinent, he referred to the tribes worshipping Vedic divinities and apparently speaking a Sanskritic language, which Hittite inscriptions of the 17th century B.C. mention as leading a pastoral life in the Mitanni country, roughly located in Kurdistan. We lack historical records as regards the great move of Aryan conquest that may be supposed to have started from that area, and archæology, too, has so far failed to throw light on this question. Geographical considerations suggest that if that migration which brought the conquering Vedic tribes ultimately to the Indus Valley, started from a region adjoining Anatolia, it is likely to have passed south of the great belt of central Persian deserts to the northern portion of Persian Baluchistan and the Helman basin.

The scattered and backward Brahui people, speaking a Dravidian language, are separated by a vast distance from the cognate Dravidian tongues of Southern India. This would find its explanation if the as yet undeciphered seals from Mohenjodaro and Harappa were to prove, as has been conjectured, to hold an early form of Dravidian speech.

The Aryan invaders while imposing their rule and language upon the far more advanced indigenous population, yet very early adopted a great deal of its superior civilization and its cult notions. In this we may recognize an early illustration of that remarkable capacity for absorbing and digesting foreign conquerors, which Hinduism has shown all through the ages.

#### India.

Hodson.

**Aspects of the Census of India, 1931.** *Summary of an Address delivered before the International Congress, on Wednesday, 1 August, by Professor T. C. Hodson, Cambridge.*

The attention of the Congress was drawn to the swift synthetic survey and summary of the racial, cultural, linguistic, religious and social history of India set out in masterly manner by Dr. Hutton, the Census Commissioner, in the India Report. Brilliant scholarship adorns these glowing pages and enables the student of social life to realize the strength and continuity of Indian culture in religion and social organization. The evidence recorded in the Provinces and States of India deals prominently with the problems arising from the contact of civilization of a Western type upon Oriental societies of various levels of cultural organizations. The present position of castes, the joint family, and the village system is examined, and proof adduced from the various reports, of the strength and vitality of the essentials of Hinduism. Many scientific problems were brought to light during the Census and await investigation and examination. Students of social, economic, linguistic, psychological, religious and political problems will find in the India Report, and in the Provincial and States Reports, material of special value for their interests, and there is in them so much that is relevant to the specialized sections of this Congress, so much that is of permanent value to the scientific student of modern anthropological problems, that a whole section would find in them ample material for many sessions and profitable discussions. 161

#### Anthropology : General.

Marett.

**The Growth and Tendency of Anthropological and Ethnological Studies.** *Summary of an Address delivered before the International Congress on Thursday, 1 August, by Dr. R. R. Marett, F.B.A., Rector of Exeter College, Oxford.*

Viewed in the light of their historical development, these studies exhibit a convergence of interests foreshadowing their eventual correlation in a single, though many-sided, science. 162  
The lecturer admitted that he spoke partly as advocate rather than judge, because British anthropology, as represented, for instance, by the systems of teaching in use in Oxford, Cambridge, and London, had always made a point of combining the physical and cultural sides of the subject, seeking to bring race and culture together in their common relation to environment, and appealing to the whole complex of conditions in order to solve the ethnological problem, namely, that of the formation and distribution of ethnic groups or peoples. Turning to the history of the subject, he showed how we owe to Greece that freedom of speculation which begot both philosophy and



science, each in its own way being deeply concerned with human nature. At the Renaissance, medicine was quickest to respond to the new spirit of inquiry, so that Physical Anthropology may be regarded as the senior branch of the science; though not until the time of Blumenbach (1752-1840) does craniology come into vogue with all its anthropometrical possibilities. Cultural Anthropology, though of course there were anticipations, is really a child of the Evolutionary Movement; so that 1859, when the 'Origin of Species' saw the light—the same year that by a coincidence witnessed the recognition of Paleolithic Man—is a datum point. Bachofen, McLennan, Morgan, Tylor, are Evolutionists to a man, the first three dealing chiefly with institutions, the last also with beliefs, and, through the far greater comprehensiveness of his knowledge, promoting Cultural Anthropology once for all to its rightful place in the general science. But if Tylor, abetted by Frazer, gives England the pre-eminence in Social Anthropology, France has it in Prehistories, Germany in Comparative Philology; and it is hard to award the palm in Anthro-geography, Technology, and so on, while ethnographic research flourishes on all sides. The year 1900, when Mendelism comes into play by the side of Darwinism, may serve as a fresh point of departure, from which time a critical mood succeeds to a constructive in the science. Henceforth the notion of unilinear evolution is discredited. Again, world-wide analogies become suspect, attention being rather paid to such similarities as are due to actual borrowing. If, however, there is a tendency to concentrate on special areas, this is offset by increasing insistence on a functional method that takes all the factors into account in estimating that interplay of forces which is the life of a people. Not only primitive but advanced groups can be so studied. Thus Anthropology stands for synthesis, and such syntheses can be realised given brains, energy, money and freedom.

### Anthropology: General.

Haldane.

**Anthropology and Human Biology.** *Summary of an Address delivered before the International Congress on Friday, 3 August, by Professor J. B. S. Haldane, University College, London.*

**163** The biologist can assist the anthropologist in two distinct ways. He can help him to interpret his data, and he can ask him questions, that is to say, point out the need for fresh data. A human society may be said to consist of men, animals, plants, inanimate objects, natural and manufactured, and tradition. The biologist is concerned mainly with the first three. I am engaged in the branch of biology called genetics, which is concerned with the study of innate differences, and shall be mainly concerned with its bearings on anthropology. I shall say almost nothing of those very important animals and plants which cause diseases, except to point out once more their extreme importance. If it were not for the activities of the hookworm and the malaria parasite, the Bengalis might, for all we know, have been as warlike a people as the Mahrattas, and perhaps less intellectual than they are.

I can only touch on the recent work of Vaviloff and his colleagues on crop plants and animals. The anthropologist cannot ignore the discovery that wheats fall into three distinct groups which can only be crossed with great difficulty, and which probably originated in Europe, Asia, and Africa respectively. If it should be proved that rice originated, not on the Asiatic continent, but in the Philippines, as Vaviloff suspects, we shall have to admit a new and unsuspected group of cultural origins.

When we find differences between two peoples we can classify these differences in several ways. We can attempt to find out how far they are due to differences of heredity, and how far to differences of environment. Clearly most characters are influenced by both. But if we are interested in racial differences we shall concentrate on the former, if in cultural diffusion, on the latter.

Again, we can try to classify differences according to their extent. Some differences cover all, or very nearly all, individuals. More usually there is a high degree of overlap, whether we take a discontinuous character, such as blood-group membership, or a continuous one, such as cranial index.

A geneticist will naturally divide differences into those determined by many genes, such as stature, and by few, such as blood-group membership. A follower of Darwin will distinguish between characters of importance from the point of view of natural selection, or sexually selected, and characters which appear to have no selective value. If one believes in natural selection as a main cause of

evolution, he will regard differences in characters of the first class as likely to be of rather recent origin, while the useless characters may throw more light on racial origins.

We have to consider four types of difference. Differences in skin colour, hair form, and the like, which are strongly inherited, distinguish all members of certain great racial groups from all members of others, *e.g.* all Negroes from all Europeans. There is reason to think that some of these characters depend on rather few genes. Thus there may be a fairly complete reappearance of the European type in the second generation of crosses with Chinese or Bantu negroes. On the other hand the colour difference between Europeans and West African negroes seems to be based on a number of genes. This distinction, if correct, is important as showing that similar skin colours may have a very different genetical basis.

Skeletal differences have the immense advantage that they can be studied in men of the past. Unfortunately they show a high degree of overlap between different races; but a group of fifty or more skulls can be investigated by appropriate statistical methods.

Serological characters have two great advantages. They are clear cut and due to few gene differences. And they are neither adaptive nor influenced by environment. On the other hand they require a special technique for their study, and overlap to such an extent that racial differences can often only be detected in populations of some hundreds. It would be as foolish to classify mankind on the basis of blood group percentages as on cranial index. Only a survey of many such characters is likely to lead to a scientific classification.

Finally, we have those innate differences which are of cultural importance, differences of ability and temperament. Such differences almost certainly exist, but are so overlaid by differences of cultural origin that they cannot be regarded as scientifically proved. Moreover, they are of two quite different kinds. When we say that a given people is musical, we may mean that it has produced a dozen great musicians, or that the average standard of musical ability is high. These are quite different criteria. But a difference in the number of men of high ability, even if unaccompanied by a difference in the median intellectual endowment, might determine a wide cultural divergence.

Whatever innate differences of this kind may exist between races, they are clearly of the overlapping type. The doctrine of the equality of man, though clearly untrue as generally stated, has this much of truth, that on a knowledge of their ancestry we cannot as yet say that one man will, and another will not, be capable of reaching a given cultural standard.

The above discussion applies to the great races of man. The so-called races within Europe have a much more dubious status. In respect of physical characters they overlap to a considerable extent. Within such a population a man of a given type (*e.g.*, a 'Nordic' with a long head, fair hair, and blue eyes) is no more likely to have a high proportion of Scandinavian ancestry than a relative not possessing these characters. Nor is it possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to determine the proportions of ancestry in a given population which belonged to various hypothetical races in the past.

Man is evolving. In most civilized communities there is reason to think that persons of fairly low intelligence are the fittest in a Darwinian sense, producing on the whole more offspring than the more intelligent. Unfortunately no data of this sort exist for primitive peoples. Until they are available we can form little idea of the agencies which have determined the direction of human evolution in the past.

## SECTIONAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

**SECTION Aa. ANATOMY AND PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.** *Chairman, PROF. SIR GRAFTON ELLIOT SMITH, F.R.S. Secretary, DR. MATTHEW YOUNG.* **164**

The 'central theme' of this section, as announced in the Chairman's *Opening Address*, was *Man's Place among the Primates*. This formed the subject of a general discussion introduced by Prof. W. E. Le Gros Clark, followed by Prof. W. K. Gregory

(New York), Mr. A. T. Hopwood and Dr. S. Zuckerman. This led naturally to a similar discussion of *Fossil Anthropology in Java* (Dr. Dubois's paper was read in his absence), *East Africa* (Dr. Leakey), and *South Africa* (Prof. R. A. Dart, Johannesburg).

On the *Growth-pattern in Children* the speakers announced were Prof. R. E. Scammon (Minnesota), and Prof. H. A. Harris; Prof. Stolyhwo (Cracow) dealt with the *Influence of Age on Pigmentation*

and (with D. Jasicki) the *Growth of the Skull with Age*, and Prof. Şevket Aziz (Istanbul) with the *Rôle of the Endocrine Glands* in relation to growth and racial differences, and especially with acromegaly.

A long series of papers on *Anthropological Aspects of Blood-grouping*, by Prof. V. Suk (Brno), Prof. Ride (Hong Kong), Dr. Bijlmer (Holland), Prof. Ruggles Gates (London), Dr. Hesch, Dr. Kossovitch (Paris), Dr. Gorer, Dr. Pijper (Pretoria), and Mr. Davis, illustrated the complexity of the problem, and its genetic bearings on the concept of 'race,' and contributed special studies from the Moluccas, New Guinea, Morocco and South Africa.

The *Comparative Anatomy of the Brain* was discussed by Dr. J. Shaw Bolton (London), Prof. Shellshear (Hong Kong), Mr. Abbie (London), Prof. Şevket Aziz, and Prof. H. A. Harris, special attention being devoted to the cortex of European, Chinese and Australian brains, and to cortex development in relation to the closure of cranial sutures.

Dr. S. Zuckerman introduced the subject of the *Menstrual Cycles in Man and Primates* in relation to the Hormones and behaviour characteristics, followed by Dr. Skerlj (Ljubljana) and Dr. Valšik (Prague) on their observations in Norway and Central Europe respectively, and by Dr. Nussbaum (Berlin) on the *Inheritance of Sexual Characters among Female Twins*.

There was a group of detailed papers on genetics: Dr. Weninger (Vienna) on the *Human Iris*, Mme. Weninger on the *Papillary Patterns in the Human Palm*, Prof. Stolyhwo (Cracow) on the *Headform of Polish Emigrants to Brazil*, and Dr. Hagedoorn (Holland) on the *Bearing of Animal Breeding Facts on the Feasibility of Rational Eugenic Measures*.

The discussion announced in conjunction with Section H. Languages on *Radiographic Definitions of the Organs of Speech* suffered from the absence of principal speakers, but Mr. Stephen Jones and P. Melville had interesting experiments to describe.

Teeth and jaws had a morning to themselves, with Mr. Mellanby (Sheffield) on *Nutritional Aspects of Dentition*, Prof. W. K. Gregory (New York) on *Comparative Aspects of Dentition*, and Prof. Brash (Edinburgh) on the *Growth of the Jaws*, with special reference to the milk-dentition and the period of change of dentition; followed by Dr. Sheldon Friel (Dublin), Miss Corisande Smyth, Dr. Matthew Young, and Mr. Chapman.

In joint session with Section B, Psychology and H. Languages, the Chairman opened a discussion of the *Localization of Function in the Cerebral Cortex*, in which Profs. Goldstein (Amsterdam), Lashley (Chicago), Shellshear (Hong Kong), and Dr. Blake Pritchard (London) were announced to speak.

Under the general title of *Bodily Habitus* papers were read by Dr. Poll (Berlin) on finger prints and disease, by Prof. Stolyhwo and Dr. Szpidbaum (Warsaw) on the liability of constitutional and racial types to cancer, by Dr. and Mrs. Bakwin (New York) on the effects of under-nutrition and infantile disease, by Dr. Fontes (Lisbon) on the morphology of the neck, and by Prof. H. Laugier (Paris) on the

methods of biotypology. Dr. W. W. Krauss (Uppsala) gave a paper on the *Alpine Race* which would have been more in place in the next section.

## SECTION Ab. ANTHROPOMETRY AND THE STANDARDIZATION OF TECHNIQUE, INCLUDING THE APPLICATION OF ANTHROPOMETRIC TECHNIQUE TO REGIONAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

**165** Chairman, PROF. H. J. FLEURE. Secretary, DR. G. M. MORANT.

The papers contributed to this section dealt with three main aspects of anthropometric research, viz., special topics, the standardization of descriptive techniques, and regional surveys. So many were submitted that little time could be allowed for discussion after each paper. The discussions on the standardization of craniometric technique were presided over by Miss M. L. Tildesley and will be separately reported. The only other general discussion was on methods of anthropometric analysis. The chair was taken in succession by Prof. Fleure and a number of distinguished visitors from different countries.

*Special Topics:* Prof. H. V. Vallois discussed the relative value, for purposes of racial comparison, of various measurements and indices of the trunk and limbs. The relations found between the head length and breadth and the cephalic index were dealt with by Dr. G. P. Frets. Dr. K. Wagner described correlations found between the development of certain muscles and the forms of bones with reference to the humerus, femur and mandible. A study by Dr. T. L. Woo of racial and other differences between measurements of the malar bones was read. Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton dealt with the reliability of metrical methods of sexing series of crania. One of Prof. T. de Aranzadi's papers (read, as was his other paper, and that of Prof. L. de Hoyos Sainz, by Prof. S. Alcobé) made inter-racial comparisons between angles of the facial triangle in the case of skeletal and living material. Dr. W. Abel described material relating principally to the correlation and inheritance of characters of the lips.

*Standardization of Anthropometric Technique:* Miss M. L. Tildesley reported on the formation and past and proposed future activities of the international committee and a number of special aspects of technique were discussed by other speakers. Dr. W. W. Krauss discussed difficulties met with in determining body measurements, and proposed methods of measuring certain characters which would result in greater precision being obtained. The question of standardizing photographs taken for anthropometric purposes was dealt with by Prof. G. Genna. Dr. L. S. B. Leakey described experiments made with the aid of X-ray apparatus to determine the thickness of cranial integuments. The need for international standardization of technical procedures was stressed by several speakers who contributed to the discussions following these papers.

*Reports on Regional Surveys:* Each of the following papers dealt primarily either with the racial history

of a particular region, based on previously published material, or with a particular new investigation, Major Seidenfaden referred to anthropometric surveys carried out in Siam and discussed the ethnological problems of the country. A paper by Prof. L. de Hoyos Sainz provided the geographical distribution in Spain, for different periods, of various cranial measurements. Prof. K. Hildén reviewed evidence of different kinds relating to the ethnography of Finland, and gave preliminary conclusions of a thorough investigation which is being made at present in the country. The results of recent regional anthropometric surveys of the present-day population of England were presented by Prof. H. J. Fleure for the Isle of Man, Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton for the district round Oxford, and Dr. M. A. MacConaill for Sheffield. Miss N. M. Izzeddin outlined the history of the Druzes of Lebanon and described a recent anthropometric survey which has been made of this people, in which special attention was paid to characters of the hair. Miss W. Smeaton reported on a survey of certain peoples of Iraq, of which the results are not yet available. The craniology of Anatolia was the subject of a communication by Prof. Şevket Aziz, who compared the types found there with those of other regions. Prof. Stolyhwo provided a racial analysis of mandibles collected in different parts of Asia. A sketch of the ethnography of the Ovambo district of South-West Africa was given by Dr. V. Lebzelter and he described a racial analysis of the inhabitants based on measurements obtained. Prof. S. Sergi dealt with a survey carried out in the Germa district (Libya) as a result of which it can be shown that the Garamantes, whose skeletal remains were found, are closely related to the present population. A report by Dr. A. M. Batrawi on the human remains excavated by the Archaeological Survey of Nubia between 1929 and 1934 included a discussion of the racial problem in ancient Egypt. A paper by Dr. L. Sedlacek-Komorowski (read by Prof. K. Stolyhwo) dealt with the racial analysis of Armenians settled in Poland. Prof. S. Alcobé described a survey undertaken in Andorra (Pyrenees) which makes it possible to estimate the racial constitution of the population. Two papers were read by Prof. A. C. G. da Silva Correia, both dealing with anthropometric investigations of Mahrattas; the first referred to the general results given in a memoir presented to the Congress<sup>1</sup>, and the second to measurements of vitality. An investigation of the genetics and racial characteristics of German farmer families settled in Roumania was described by Dr. E. Geyer. Prof. L. Bartucz discussed the racial history of Hungary with reference to skeletal remains of various prehistoric and later periods, and data collected for the modern population. The relationships of the Basque to other European races were examined in Prof. T. de Aranzadi's paper.

Methods of analysing anthropometric data were dealt with only incidentally in the above communi-

cations. A discussion on this subject took place following a paper by Prof. J. Czekanowski on the analysis of certain European series. Prof. J. Czekanowski, Dr. G. M. Morant, Mme. E. Stolyhwo, Prof. H. J. Fleure, Dr. V. Lebzelter and Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton took part in this discussion.

A few other papers offered to the section were not read as the authors were not present at its meetings.

G. M. MORANT.

**SECTION B. PSYCHOLOGY.** *Chairman, Prof. F. C. Bartlett, F.R.S. Secretary, Eric Farmer.*

The speakers in this section were asked to keep their papers fairly short so as to allow as much time as possible for discussion. The plan worked well, and discussions of a valuable kind took place throughout the whole meeting. Although the papers covered a wide field in social psychology, those who attended all the meetings of the section could not fail to be impressed with a central theme that seemed to run throughout all the papers and the discussions that followed.

One speaker after another described the important changes that were taking place in social organizations, many of which would be better understood and more wisely directed if we had a fuller knowledge of their psychological causes. Various psychological explanations of such changes were offered, but the real difficulty was the lack of definite knowledge.

Dr. C. S. Myers opened the meeting with a broad survey of social psychological problems. Something had been done to gather systematic knowledge in the fields of educational and industrial psychology, but much more needed doing and the problems were pressing as they lay so near the centre of our social organization.

Prof. Arnold Toynbee, in his paper on cultural contacts, drew valuable lessons from the various types of reaction that had resulted from contacts in ancient history. Mr. E. D. Tongue followed with an account of what was happening now in Uganda. The parallel between the ancient and modern was so striking that it seemed hard to realize how many centuries separated the events that were described. Prof. Toynbee stressed the point that this century would be known in history as the one in which means of communication had brought about the most striking example of cultural contact in the history of the world and that it would be judged according to its ability to profit by past experience and modern psychological knowledge.

Mr. A. T. Culwick, in a paper dealing with the religious and economic sanctions of a Bantu tribe, showed how closely in essence those sanctions were to our own, although their specific modes of expression might appear different. Only by understanding their psychological basis could they be properly understood and brought into line with the more advanced culture of the West.

Prof. Ginsberg in his description of modern political tendencies showed how they to some extent

<sup>1</sup> *Les Mahrattes de l'Inde Portugaise.* Bastorá, 1934.



repeated the past, but with fundamental differences due to psychological causes that were inherent in modern civilization. A fuller understanding and appreciation of these causes was essential if civilization was to advance and not fall back into a state of chaos.

Prof. T. H. Pear, in his papers on conversation, the radio, and the film, pointed out some of the specifically new psychological factors that were influencing the younger generation, causing its outlook and methods of expression to be different from those of the older generation who had only been subjected to these influences late in life.

Prof. C. Spearman described modern psychological methods of measuring mental traits and the scheme that had been put on foot to use these on an international basis. Mr. Thouless described new methods of studying certainty of belief and its effect on social organization. Prof. W. McDougall closed the meeting by showing the wide manifestation of psychology, which it was impossible to exclude from any mental discipline or any study of social life.

The theme that ran through all these papers and the discussions that followed was that we in this generation were presented with the greatest opportunity that the world had had of basing government and social organization on a sound psychological basis, so that the causes of strain and mental disturbance which in the past had led to so much harm could, at least in part, be avoided. At the same time it was made clear that there were no well-defined methods that could be blindly applied, but that psychological research on social problems was evidently needed. It was recognized that modern applied psychology during the short time in which it had been seriously pursued had accomplished much, but this only served to show how much more could be accomplished if fuller facilities for research were forthcoming. The small amount of real knowledge that had been acquired by modern methods of research in social psychology had proved of more value than the vague speculations that had preceded it, and the need to extend it was urgent.

Those who attended the meetings of the section regularly felt that a real step forward had been made during the Congress. Some of the fundamental problems in social psychology had been clearly defined and critically discussed by those who could contribute to their solution, and it seems not improbable that the interest thus stimulated may lead to the practical advancement of social psychology.

ERIC FARMER.

#### SECTION C. DEMOGRAPHY AND POPULATION PROBLEMS. Chairman, PROF. C. B. FAWCETT. Secretary, DR. A. GEDDES.

**167** The *Comparison of the Census of England and Wales (1921-31)* by Sir Charles Close analysed the disturbing influences of the War, of successive economic crises, and of the pause in emigration. Special instance of such factors in operation were found by Dr. Geddes in *The Western Isles*, with

a purely peasant population; by Mr. Gwyn in the *Irish Free State*; and by Mr. E. Davies in the *Isle of Man*; and Prof. Fawcett discussed the *Concentrations of population in the English-speaking lands* generally, and traced some trends of movement.

For other parts of the world, Mr. S. J. K. Baker's account of the *Distribution of population over East Africa* indicated marked concentration in three regions, but also some regions of austerity, and a narrow margin of subsistence generally. Dr. von Bernatzik (Vienna) analysed the causes of *Depopulation in the Solomon Islands*, and Dr. L. Ryder (Hong Kong), in British North Borneo; Mr. S. V. Pearson described the interactions of *Man, mosquito, and fish . . . in Ceylon*, and especially the effects of irrigation and malaria; Dr. Münter (Heidelberg) illustrated the evidence available in Church-registers, more fully used, apparently, here than on the Continent; and Dr. R. Martial (Paris) offered a general study of immigration and the consequent interbreeding of stocks, with special reference to France, where governments have long interested themselves in the selection of desirable accessions.

#### SECTION Da. ETHNOGRAPHY, GENERAL.

**168** Chairman: DR. A. C. HADDON, F.R.S.; Secretary: R. U. SAYCE.

The Chairman opened the proceedings with remarks on various kinds of spreads of cultures or of elements of cultures. He distinguished between simple diffusion, such as the spread of tobacco in New Guinea, and the introduction into new areas of customs by definite human migrations; the number of the immigrants may have been very small and what they brought was often further disseminated by diffusion. Distinct cults often remain in the possession of the descendants of the immigrants. Distributions and spreads, whether of peoples, of artifacts, or of customs and beliefs, have an interest of their own, but it is the significance of their distribution and how and why they came about that are really important.

*Types of Cultural Spread.*—Mr. R. U. Sayce gave instances of various kinds of cultural spreads. Mrs. N. K. Chadwick illustrated the distribution of oral literature in the Old World and distinguished three groups of oral literature: entertainment, instruction and celebration (religious and social). All are widely spread, though certain areas specialize in one or more of these groups or in departments of the groups. Dr. C. W. von Sydow discussed how folk-tales live and spread. Every tradition has its range and distribution, carriers, and use; knowledge of these is of fundamental importance. In every cultural district a folk-tale becomes stabilized and constitutes an ecotype special to that area. The spread of an ecotype into a new area becomes a new ecotype by assimilating local elements, but it retains the character of its origin. This process is not confined to folk-tales and it should be taken into consideration for other forms of tradition. The crude comparison of a tradition of one country



with those of distant countries must give place to more intensive studies.

Prof. W. Koppers claimed that the Indogermanic problem was not merely a linguistic or an archaeological one but was also an ethnological and religious one. In these latter respects the Indogermanic culture shows in its fundamental elements definite connections with the culture-complex of the Altai people, and the evidence points to the view that the Indogermans received this culture directly from them and not by way of the Urals, *i.e.* Ugrians; such cultural elements for example as: the rearing of horses, emphasis on patriliney, an attributing of the elements of the personality of the sky-god to new divinities, cult of the Dioscuri, and the sacrifice of horses. As there is no indication that the Altai people ever really settled westwards, the original home of the Indogermans can only have been in the east—perhaps in West Turkestan.

Prof. J. Erdeljanović has investigated the social organization and traditions of the peoples of Montenegro, Herzegovina, and the adjoining regions, and finds a persistence of a very old culture which to some extent has been modified by more recent Serbian and other influences.

*Indian Ethnography.*—Prof. Baron E. von Eickstedt in a well-illustrated lecture proposed a three-fold main classification of the peoples of India. He insisted on the potency of geographical control which has been continuously operative from pre-historic pluvial times to the present day, though secondary movements have taken place. Dr. B. S. Guha adopted the generally recognized racial history of India and found a close relationship among the people of each well-defined geographical area, irrespective of caste. His conclusions were based on measurements of several thousand individuals and the data were analysed by the coefficient of racial likeness. There was a lively discussion on racial problems and anthropometric methods at which Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer was the chairman and in which he took part. K. P. Chattopadhyaya in dealing with Indian social organization discussed the various theories of caste and gave his own conclusions. Rai Bahadur Ramprasad Chanda illustrated by a large number of photographs his thesis that the cult of the *yogi* prevailed at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro in the Chalcolithic Age. Buddhism and Jainism originated in eastern India and later assimilated the pre-historic cult of the *yogi* which later was adopted by north Indian Brahmanism. In the Tamil country the images of the saints are not in *yoga* posture, thus the origin of the cult cannot be traced to the Dravidians, nor did it originate among the Vedic Aryans. This cult of images in *yoga* posture is evidently a heritage from the prehistoric population of the Indus valley. Dr. Heine Geldern exhibited photographs of implements from northwest India which are of no known local types but have unmistakable affinities with types from Hither Asia, and they can only be explained as traces of migrations of Vedic Aryans coming by a southern land route.

*Ethnology of the Far East.*—Several important

papers on the ethnology of the Far East gave rise to interesting discussions. Dr. O. Mäunchen claimed a "Scythian" origin for the Heracles saga which spread into Europe and into China about 400 B.C.

Prof. P. Rivet discoursed on the primitive population of Indo-China and its affinities; this old culture has close affinities with cultures in Assam and Borneo and also in Melanesia. Dr. G. H. Rivière referred to Chinese archaeological artifacts which show that Oceania owes more to China and Indo-China than has been generally recognized. Dr. Heine Geldern drew attention to the already known numerous parallels between the script of the Indus valley, which dates from the third millennium B.C., and that of Easter Island. The distance in time and space between these two scripts is enormous, but he finds that this is to some extent bridged by certain ancient Chinese characters, of which he showed examples. The Vedda (pre-Dravidian) stock has long been known to occur in the Malay peninsula and in parts of Indonesia, but Dr. J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan showed numerous photographs which indicate that it has a wide range in Indonesia, and he thinks it also reached New Guinea.

J. Layard traced the history for 17 generations of degree-taking rites associated with a "megalithic" culture in the small islands off the north-east of Malekula; this is the first record of such a history.

*Ethnography of New Guinea.*—Pater F. J. Kirschbaum even with his unrivalled knowledge of the natives of northern Mandated New Guinea finds it impossible to classify the "Papuan" languages, though he can distinguish two large groups. He recognises several distinct cultures to which he ascribes various origins, these were discussed by Dr. Haddon. G. Bateson found among the natives of the Sepik river that the clan integration is strong and independent, while the larger groups are feeble. He discussed the general tendency of large human groups to split up into a series of more or less similar parts and gave zoological analogues. F. E. Williams, from wide experience, discussed the social significance of sorcery in Papua from its psychological aspect; from a sociological point of view it forms an obstacle to successful living together and as being anti-social the Government should try to eliminate it by means of education, but in the meantime deterrent measures are justifiable. The most popular paper was a survey given by E. W. P. Chinnery of the recent discovery in the heart of New Guinea of a large plateau inhabited by various hitherto unknown tribes. The lecture was illustrated by a large number of slides (*cf.* MAN, 1934, 140).

It will be seen, as was intended, that the communications dealt predominantly with matters of general interest and especially with various problems of distribution in which many new and suggestive facts were presented. In many cases there was a short discussion in which the views expressed by the reader were occasionally criticized.

A. C. HADDON.

**SECTION Db. ETHNOGRAPHY: AFRICA.**

**169** *Chairman: REV. EDWIN W. SMITH. Secretary: DR. R. S. RATTRAY.*

The programme was so devised as to afford opportunities for professional anthropologists, administrative officers and missionaries to discuss certain subjects of practical importance. Instead of soliciting heterogeneous papers four questions were chosen for the main sessions and speakers were selected to deal with them. This plan involved declining several contributions submitted to the Section on other subjects, but any loss in this respect was more than compensated for by the concentration upon a few topics. Two papers which were volunteered were accepted because they fitted in with the general scheme. At each morning session the subject was introduced by two or more speakers who viewed it from various angles and they were followed by free discussion. When the time for lunch arrived it was found that both the subject and the desire for threshing it out were far from being exhausted, and additional afternoon sessions, lasting each day from 14.30 to 16, were held. Even so, all had not been said by tea-time.

The great majority of the men and women who attended had lived for considerable periods in Africa—reckoned in terms of years their total experience must have covered a good many centuries. Those who were not trained anthropologists were qualified by actual knowledge of the Africans to contribute to the discussions. Vague expressions of opinion were not tolerated; the desire of all was to get at the facts and view them in the light of the central problem—the problem raised by the impact of western civilization upon African culture. Greater actuality was lent to the discussions by the presence and addresses of several Africans: we wished that more of them had responded to our invitation to attend the Congress. No opinion was more frequently expressed than that solutions of Africa's problems should be sought co-operatively by Africans and Europeans and that the ultimate decisions will be taken by Africans.

An attempt was made on the first day to penetrate behind cultural phenomena to the animating forces in African life. Dr. Rattray and Professor Agnes Donohugh set the tone for the entire sessions by analytical papers which while soundly based upon scientific knowledge of the facts kept the practical always in view. Mr. Schoeman's paper illustrated the general subject by reference to Swaziland. The discussion touched on many phases of African life, but it was generally agreed that their religious attitude stands first and foremost among the vital things in the Africans' culture.

This subject led naturally to that which was discussed on the second day: How far can African customs and beliefs be incorporated in the Christian system? Here was an opportunity for the numerous missionaries present to discuss a question in which they are deeply interested with administrators and with anthropologists. Papers were read by the Rev. T. Cullen Young, Professor D. Westermann,

the Revs. J. Le Fleming and C. P. Groves, and the Ven. Dr. G. J. Basden. As was to be expected both in these papers and in the animated discussion which followed diverse views were expressed; perhaps no unanimous conclusion was reached in the minds of the members, but a general desire was manifest to help Africans to maintain whatever of good there is in their own culture.

On the third day the discussion centred upon African marriage laws and customs and the effect upon them of contact with western civilization. The subject was introduced, from the point of view of East and West Africa, by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey and the Revs. F. Dodds and W. Groves. Prof. Raffaele Corso contributed a paper (in Italian) on one particular custom, the public presentation of proofs of a bride's virginity, showing that its distribution coincides with that of Islam. The prolonged discussion brought out very clearly that many valuable features in the old laws and customs are in danger of being lost. Two resolutions were adopted, the first strongly supporting the principle of training missionaries and government officers in social anthropology, and the second expressing the opinion that Africans, missionaries and government officers should be encouraged to form local associations for the co-operative study of problems affecting African society.

The final morning session was devoted to Witchcraft and Colonial Legislation thereon. An African, Mr. Modjaben Dowuona, fittingly read the first paper; Professor Evans-Pritchard presented an anthropological analysis of the subject; Mr. F. H. Melland approached it from the point of view of an administrative officer; Major G. St. J. Orde Browne and Mr. Clifton Roberts dealt with the legislation; and Dr. L. S. B. Leakey brought the views of East Africans. No subject attracted a larger audience and led to a more animated discussion. The view was repeatedly expressed that the excellent series of papers ought to be published together in full. The general conclusion was that legislation on witchcraft in Africa needs amendment in that it is largely founded upon misapprehension of the facts.

In the late afternoons joint sessions were held with other Sections. Methods of investigating mental aptitudes of African peoples were discussed with Section B. (Psychology), the subject being introduced by Mr. A. T. Lacey and Dr. Nissen. A resolution was adopted calling attention to the urgent need for further research and deprecating the drawing of conclusions from the inadequate data at present available. At a joint meeting with Section Dc, (America) the Rev. J. J. Williams spoke on Ashanti cultural influence in Jamaica. The validity of translations was the important subject discussed with Section H. (Language), but time was too short to deal with it adequately. Hamitic Culture and its distribution was dealt with in conjunction with Section Da; and the religious aspects of African land tenure with Section G.

This Section of the Congress was undoubtedly a success; it gave opportunity for the discussion of really important questions by men and women of

very diverse experience. It may very well be that some of them will see more clearly henceforward the help that anthropology can give them in their work.

EDWIN W. SMITH.

#### SECTION Dc. ETHNOGRAPHY OF AMERICA. Chairman, T. A. JOYCE; Secretary, J. COOPER CLARK.

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The main subjects of discussion were the most recent investigations in North and Central America, the latest developments in the study of Maya glyphs, and the interrelation of the several cultures of the Pacific slope of South America. Mr. Long reviewed present knowledge of *Maya and Mexican Writing*, Dr. Dieseldorff on *The Mayan intercalary system* expounded a connection between temple ornament and temple chronology, and Dr. Linné (Stockholm) discussed the *Toltec Capital*.

Another archaeological paper by Dr. Doering (Munich) described recent *Excavations in Peru*.

Dr. König (Cologne) and Prof. Thalbitzer (Copenhagen) explained the Eskimo outlook on the world.

Problems of common origin for New World and Old World observances arose from the papers of Prof. Pospíšil (Brno) on the *Hoop Dance*, of Mr. Barbeau (Ottawa) on *Siberian and American Indian Songs*, of Prof. Karsten (Helsingfors) on *Confession in the Ancient Inca Empire*, of Dr. Gahs (Zagreb) on *Human Sacrifice, Secret Societies, and Shamanism, around the Pacific*, and of M. Colette on *The Labret in America*. *Human Sacrifice in Mexico* was also examined by Dr. K. Th. Preuss (Berlin).

Two papers dealt with recent examples of the 'clash of cultures'; by Dr. Olbrechts (Ghent) on *Handsome Lake and the Modern Iroquoian Religion*, and by Father Williams (Boston, Mass.) on *Ashanti cultural influence in Jamaica*.

General questions of method and organization were discussed by Prof. Karsten (Helsingfors) and Prof. Blom (New Orleans). The latter dealt also with the new archaeological map of the Maya area.

Finally, Prof. Pospíšil (Brno) discussed the *Anthropological types in the South-West of the United States*, and Prof. P. Rivet (Paris) the *Population of the province of Jaén, in Ecuador*.

#### SECTION E. TECHNOLOGY. Chairman, HENRY BALFOUR, F.R.S. Secretary, TREVOR THOMAS.

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Among a rather miscellaneous list, a group of papers on the construction of ships and boats was conspicuous, and within this group Mr. Bonnington's account of the *Technology of fishing, and canoes, in the Andaman Islands*, and Messrs. Worthington and Fosbrooke's *East African lake craft*. The latter dealt ably with the local varieties round the Victoria Nyanza, evolved from dug-out to plank-built. Dr. Lagercrantz distinguished indigenous and intrusive types among *Fish-hooks in Africa*.

Another group dealt with the making and decoration of pottery: M. Braunholtz in East Africa, Mr. Hottot in French Equatorial Africa, Mr. Mallowan in the Middle East.

Mention should also be made of M. Griaule's

account of the *Rockpainting of French Soudan*, Dr. Köster's *Ships of the northern Rock carvings*, Prof. Vuia's analysis of *Types of villages and houses in Rumania*, showing varied adaptation to local environment, and Dr. Gunther's collection of 'Eye-destroyers' from Japan, with their frequent camouflage as medical objects. Mr. Digby discussed the technology and distribution of the *Shark's-teeth weapons of Oceania*, and Mr. Joyce, describing the *Shell and Turtle-shell Discs of the Solomon Islands*, proposed a new view of the origin of their ornamental detail.

Prof. Lila O'Neale described and illustrated the famous *Paracas Mantle of Peru*, and its curious technique. Mrs. Crowfoot traced a very long series of development in the *Beduin loom*; and Dr. von Füller-Haimendorf, looking even further back, identified palaeolithic elements in the material culture of Australia and Tasmania, and indicated the course of Tasmanian migrations. Mr. Beasley's elaborate and fully illustrated account of the peculiar and beautiful *Red Feather Money of Santa Cruz in Melanesia* deserved longer time and more detailed discussion.

Dr. Curt Sachs illustrated *Movement as origin of artistic styles*, with some graphic and suggestive examples.

A fresh line of enquiry was followed by Mr. J. P. Mills, the *Effect of ritual on industries and arts in the Nagu Hills of Assam*, one of the outstanding contributions to the Congress. The imminent Bank Holiday gave local point to his comments on such interruptions to work.

#### SECTION F. SOCIOLOGY. Chairman, PROF. C. G. SELIGMAN, F.R.S. Secretary, DR. RAYMOND FIRTH.

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While papers on any aspect of Primitive Sociology were welcome, it was planned that papers and discussions should group themselves round the central theme, *The Sociology of Ritual*, which offered a wide choice of aspects, both general and in reference to particular institutions and peoples. There were also joint discussions, with the Section of Religions on the *relations of the religious and the sociological aspects of ritual*, opened by Prof. M. Mauss (Paris), and with Section B, Psychology (v. 166 above).

The programme opened with the problems *What is Ritual?* propounded by Prof. Evans Pritchard, and *The purpose of Ritual*, by Mr. Hocart. Prof. Lévy Bruhl (Paris) dealt with *Ancestor-worship in general*, Mr. J. H. Driberg with its special developments in Africa; Rao Bahadur Ananthakrishna Iyer (Mysore) with the *Agricultural basis of religion in South India*, and Lord Raglan with the *Cult of Animals*. Other general papers were by Dr. Marett on *Ritualism as a disease of religion*, and by Dr. Raymond Firth on the *Ritual of worship of primitive gods*.

More special were Miss Margaret Read's account of the *Ritual payment of death dues in N.W. Rhodesia*, Mr. F. E. Williams on *Mask-ceremonies of the Papuan Gulf*, Mr. Gregory Bateson on

*Transvesticism on the Sepik River*, Mr. Piddington on the *Ritual of Karadjeri initiation*, and Miss Audrey Richards on *Tree-cutting ceremonies among the Babemba*.

Peter Schmidt raised a large question, the *Position of Women* in regard to property in primitive cultures, and Dr. Fortune demanded a *Critical Anthropology* to deal with the data already available.

An interesting group of papers dealt with *Archaic forms of contract in North Africa* (Prof. Maunier, Paris), *Law among the Arabs of Sinai* (G. W. Murray), and *Land tenure and the Chief among the Babemba* (Miss Audrey Richards). The *African Chief in conditions of culture contact* was discussed also by Miss Nancy Mair.

Papers on social organization included *Clan organization of the Lacustrine Bantu* by H. A. Fosbrooke; *Cross cousin and uncle-niece marriage in Malabar* by A. Aiyappan (Madras); *Marriage in ancient Egypt* by Miss Margaret Murray.

The Further East, ancient and modern, was represented by Miss Lundgren, *Shamam and the communists in Northern Manchuria*; Arthur Waley, *The Use of Translated Chinese Sources in the study of the history of civilization*, and Masao Oka, *Secret Societies in Japan*.

Sociological theory was discussed by Dr. A. Geddes and Prof. Herskovits, and its application by E. W. P. Chinnery for New Guinea and Dr. Raymond Firth for the Western Pacific.

The two joint discussions have been noted under the headings of Psychology and Religion.

#### SECTION G. RELIGIONS. Chairman, REV. PROF.

E. O. JAMES, D.Litt. Secretary, H. COOTE LAKE.

The aspects of the subject included survivals from more primitive conditions, early rites, magic and the spread and changes of religions.

*Survivals*.—Father Williams in his paper *Psychic Phenomena in Jamaica* differentiated between the *duppy* and the shadow, showing how the former, originally harmless, had become identified with the latter, and is now associated with all unaccountable ills. Professor Vuia described *A Rumanian survival of sun cult and fecundity rites*, which had affinity to our Mummer's Play. Dr. M. Griaule's paper, *Les génies "zar" en Abyssinie*, dealt with possession in that country and the methods of cure.

Dr. M. A. Murray sketched the history of the Libyan god "Ash in ancient Egypt," and showed his survival in Münster's *Cosmographia Universalis*, published A.D. 1544. Prof. M. A. Canney in *The Magico-religious significance of sand*, produced parallels to the Knutsford custom of strewing the bride's path with sand, from other cultures throughout the world, and concluded that sand was a life-giving substance. Prof. Pertold spoke of *Methods of recording the religions of the primitives, and religious folklore*, and urged that modern appliances be used.

*Customs and Magic*.—Prof. Rafael Karsten and Prof. Raffaele Pettazzoni both dealt with con-

fession, the former in ancient Peru, and the latter among primitive peoples. Prof. W. Koppers stated the problem of totemism as it appears today. In the same way Prof. H. J. Rose reviewed the present position in the study of classical religions and pleaded for the recognition of the larger relations and resemblances. Prof. Victor Goloubew pointed out the cosmomagical significance of the plan of the recently excavated ancient city of Angkor.

*Folk Customs and Beliefs*.—D. C. W. von Sydow's paper, *A modern criticism of Mannhardt's theory of vegetation demons and the last sheaf* challenged the generally accepted interpretation of harvest and other agricultural rites, and will be published in full in *Folk-Lore*. Dr. Arthur Geddes dealt with the poetic, rhythmic prayers in connection with labour in Scotland.

Pater W. Schmidt dealt with *Primitive sacrifice among the oldest peoples*, and Prof. John Murphy in *High gods among low races* criticized Pater Schmidt's well-known theory, to which Pater Schmidt briefly replied. Prof. O. Pertold pointed out *The religious aspects of the difference between natural and violent death*. Dr. Ernst Harms pointed out the tendency towards a national religion among the Scandinavian and Baltic peoples.

*Magico-Religion*. Prof. S. H. Hooke described *Monsters and Demons in early Babylonian Religion* and Mrs. E. S. Drawer showed pictures of Mandaean 'ablutions,' which term she preferred to 'baptisms,' the one more often used. Prof. S. A. Cook spoke of *The development of magico-religious ideas in the ancient near east and the progress from what are problems of Anthropology and Ethnology to those of modern Religion, Theology and Philosophy*. Mr. S. A. S. Huzayyin described the spread of the religions of the Near East through Asia. Dr. L. H. Dudley Buxton spoke of changes in the types of burial in England and their magico-religious significance. Mr. M. D. W. Jeffreys described the ritual connected with the coronation and demise of the *Divine Umundri King*. H. COOTE LAKE.

#### SECTION H. LANGUAGES AND WRITING.

Chairman, DR. ALAN H. GARDINER, F.B.A. Secretary, DR. J. R. FIRTH.

The scope of the Language Section was limited to what is sometimes called Linguistics as distinct from Historical and Comparative Philology. That meant the exclusion from our discussions of particular points of linguistic history, phonological, grammatical or lexicographic details, and much of what usually engrosses the attention of linguists.

It had also been intended to exclude comparative studies preoccupied with the affinities of languages and language groups in fields where historical documents were lacking and where modern descriptive technique has shown how deplorably ignorant we often are, of the particular languages we venture to compare in the pursuit of some theory of 'substrat,' 'unité linguistique' or diffusion.

Two such papers were however accepted, and read on Thursday, 2nd August. The first, by Pater Schmidt, on 'La position des langues Munda,'



and the second, by Prof. Paul Rivet, on 'Egyptiens' et Océaniens,' afterwards discussed by Dr. Alan Gardiner. In the latter a provocative theory of diffusion was suggested by the comparison of a selection of isolated ancient Egyptian words 'qui, naturellement, ne se prononcent pas,' with a suitable collection of 'mots bouchons' from the Pacific Ocean.

Reviewing the whole work of the section, the section committee endorsed the earlier opinion of the organizing committee that, for the purposes of anthropology, detailed studies of the particular languages as used in their cultural contexts, are likely to be more profitable than inconclusive comparative studies of almost unknown languages without documentary history.

The more objective study of the facts of language occupied most of the sessions of the section. The study of language in its context of culture naturally gives great prominence to problems of meaning. Consequently the first morning session was devoted to such sociological studies of words. Prof. R. M. Dawkins' enlightening paper on 'The General Principles governing the use of Plant Names in Ancient and Modern Greek,' reminded both linguists and ethnographers of one cardinal principle in semantics which they are slow to recognize, viz., that the names of plants, animals and natural objects in common use, or with which a society is familiar, are never mere tags tied on, to name the species like labels in a museum or botanical garden. The name 'adheres' to some use of, or cultural familiarity with the plant. Consequently, a close study of the names of plants as now used in Greece might lead us to a better understanding of the cultural character and use of the plants mentioned by ancient authors.

During the same session Mr. G. O. Whitehead showed how personal names among the Bari were an extension of the terms of relationship, and placed a person in relation to the rest of the family in a kind of 'genealogical context.' In discussing this paper Dr. Tucker told the story of a Bari accused of murder who, with the aid of sworn witnesses, managed to prove that the murder had been committed by his elder brother who had since migrated to a neighbouring territory. Had the European in charge of the case been acquainted with the content of Mr. Whitehead's paper, he would have known from the man's name alone that he could not have had an elder brother.

The problem of meaning was also approached in joint discussions with the African Ethnography, and Psychology sections.

With the African section the question of the validity of translations from and into 'exotic languages' was discussed by the Rev. R. D. McMinn and Dr. Ivens as translators of the Bible, and also by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, Dr. Alice Werner, Mr. R. F. Fortune, Dr. Alan Gardiner, Mr. J. R. Firth, and others.

It was clear that translation had too often been little more than finding English labels for native words, or native labels for English words, and that translations often betrayed insufficient knowledge

not so much of the language in itself as of language as understood by linguistic science, and of culture as interpreted by social anthropology.

It is misleading to talk of 'correspondences' or 'equivalents' in two such utterly different languages as English and an African or Melanesian language, for example.

The two languages are likely to have few, if any, sounds in common and, if they have, their function is likely to be different. Again, there are likely to be few correspondences in morphological categories or in sentence types or sentence structure. So that detailed formal description, and functional grammatical study of the 'exotic language,' as well as the study of typical words and sentences in their typical contexts of situation in the routine of social life, would appear to be necessary conditions of a successful translation either way.

After Prof. Pear's paper on 'The Conversation as a Problem in Psychology' in the joint meeting with the Psychology section, Dr. Issatchenko, Sir Denison Ross, and Mr. J. R. Firth took part in a discussion pointing to the need for examining and classifying easily recognisable types of speech function, as well as a more serious study of the part played by the ritual of 'Conversation' in our daily lives.

The linguists naturally felt the problems to be more linguistic and sociological than psychological.

One of the first obligations of a field-worker in anthropology is to reveal and describe his principal instrument, which is language. Consequently, one session was devoted to the synchronic and functional study of speech and the technique of descriptive linguistics. The two most active schools in this field in Europe are the London school centred in University College, and the School of Oriental Studies, and the group of linguists who are associated with the Cercle Linguistique de Prague. Of these, the London school is likely to be of more use to anthropologists owing to its developed technique for recording hitherto unwritten languages. Dr. Ida Ward demonstrated this by dealing with the functions of tone in Ibo, illustrating the use of notation and demonstrating her facts with the assistance of a native speaker of Ibo. The phonetic and phonological theory upon which notation depends, and without which it is impossible to give any grammatical description of a spoken language, was discussed by Mr. J. R. Firth, of London, and by Dr. Vachek and Dr. Issatchenko, representing the 'phonology' of the Prague school.

At a subsequent discussion in which Professors O. Funke and H. Lindroth, Dr. Vachek, Dr. Issatchenko and Mr. J. R. Firth took part, substantial agreement was reached on the desirability of a linguistic, that is to say, a functional approach to the phonetic study of a given form of speech. To distinguish this linguistic and functional phonetics from the more abstract non-linguistic phonetics, whether of the notational, physiological, or experimental kind, the Prague school use the term *phonology*. Mr. J. R. Firth explained the advantages of a purely phonetic morphology and a formal



approach to syntax, thus separating semantics from the purely technical categories of grammatical description, and facilitating the thorough contextual study of meaning on sociological lines, unobscured by categories serving any other purpose. Dr. Tucker illustrated these principles by showing the absurdities of applying many current concepts of grammar to African languages, and Mr. I. M. Huseini gave an example of the method in his short paper on 'The technique of formal description applied to a Palestinian dialect of Arabic.'

The study of speech as a bodily function was also ably represented by Prof. Kurt Goldstein of the Central Brain Research Institute, Amsterdam, who spoke on 'Die Erfahrungen der Psychopathologie der Sprache in ihrer Bedeutung für die Anthropologie,' and also on the localisation of function in the cerebral cortex in the joint meeting with Anatomy and Psychology. It was interesting to note that the functional approach to language in modern linguistics is based on substantially the same general principles as have proved useful in the study of the workings of the human organism.

Mr. Negus illustrated his able paper on 'The comparative anatomy and physiology of the speech organs in man and the primates,' with an excellent series of slides.

In a joint meeting with Anatomy, Mr. Stephen Jones, supported by Mr. F. Melville, demonstrated the instrumental study of speech by an able exposition of radiograms, kymograms and palatograms of some plosives, clicks and pharyngeals.

Prof. Harris pointed out that by an improved technique of radio-cinematography, it would be possible to follow up the static study of postures of the organs of speech by a study of the organs in actual speech movement.

The study of writing was represented by Mr. Starkey's talk on the Tel el Duweir Vase, and its connection with the history of the alphabet, followed by a further explanation by Dr. Alan Gardiner.

Professor Young, of Canton, showed some manuscripts of the writing of the sorcerers or wizards of the Lolo or Nosu, aboriginal tribes of Western China. A rare manuscript in early pictographic writing of the Mossu, lent by Mr. Marshall Broomhall, was also shown. Prof. Olbrechts spoke on his study of the Cherokee syllabary.

A highly controversial paper on the Mendelian interpretation of the phonetic characteristics of languages was read by Prof. van Ginneken.

Among others, the following important resolution was adopted unanimously by the Sectional Committee consisting of the Section Officers and Prof. Dr. O. FUNKE, Berne. Prof. Dr. H. LINDROTH, Göteborg. Dr. VACHEK, Prague. Dr. ISSATCHENKO, Vienna and Prague:—

'Le comité croit devoir attirer l'attention des linguistes sur la nécessité urgente de poursuivre des études linguistiques dans un contact étroit avec l'anthropologie et l'ethnographie; il insiste sur l'importance toute spéciale des études linguistiques ayant surtout référence à la description et le comparaison synchroniques des langues.' J. R. FIRTH.

## REVIEWS.

**Entdeckungsgeschichte von Altertum bis zur Neuzeit.** By Hans Plischke. Leipzig (Quelle u. Mayer), 1933. Sm. 8vo., 160 pp. Price 1-80 Rm.

Dr. Plischke is Professor of Ethnology at Göttingen, and has already described the valuable early collection of ethnographic objects in the University Museum there, with special reference to their place in the history of discovery. He now publishes an excellent short history of discovery in general, in which the ethnological aspect of the spread of geographical knowledge is well emphasized, and the resulting relations between newly-discovered peoples and European discoverers. His four maps, marking principal stages of discovery, all give the whole planetary surface, and consequently are fully comparable. There is a serviceable bibliography of the literature of travel and geographical speculation.

J. L. M.

**Letten, Litauer, Weissrussen.** By Michael Hesch. Rudolf Pöchs Nachlass Series A III Band. Wien, 1933. 80 pp., 62 tables, 15 curves and 8 plates. 12 x 9. Rm. 20.

This is a most careful study of the living types among the Letts, Lithuanians and White Russians, of whom 278, 77 and 79 were measured respectively. The author begins with a brief historical introduction, without, as might have been hoped, discussing the available craniological material. He then gives us the results of a very complete somatological examination of his subjects. The methods used are described as "nach R. Martin, Lehrbuch der Anthropologie." The present reviewer, in collaboration with Dr. Morant, has

tried to show the disadvantages of so brief a note about methods. Admirable and careful as no doubt the late Professor Martin's book is, there are many points in it which are open to different interpretations in the hands of different workers, and it would seem essential that workers should draw attention to the technique they actually use. The data are clearly grouped and the statistical constants are worked out. This is followed by a number of correlation tables, "Merkmalcombinationen," although the coefficients have not actually been worked out. There can be very little doubt that such tables are of the greatest importance in the evaluation of racial problems, and they are as yet but seldom used. Finally, there is a general discussion of the data. There is a useful bibliography conveniently grouped into works published before and after 1920. This monograph should prove of considerable value to all interested in the modern peoples of Europe.

L. H. D. B.

**Cave Hunting Holidays in Peakland.** By G. H. Wilson. Chesterfield (no date). 94 pp. Illustrated. Price 1s. 6d.

This is a breezy record of the 'Brotherhood of the Pick and Shovel' which has for some years been exploring the Peak District of Derbyshire. Principal exploits are (1) the excavation of Thor's Fissure Cave, with notes by Professor H. A. Harris on human remains, by Miss Bate and Dr. Wilfrid Jackson on animal bones, and by Mr. Hawker on artefacts; (2) a find of Saxon coins and brooches from Beeston Tor Cave.

J. L. M.



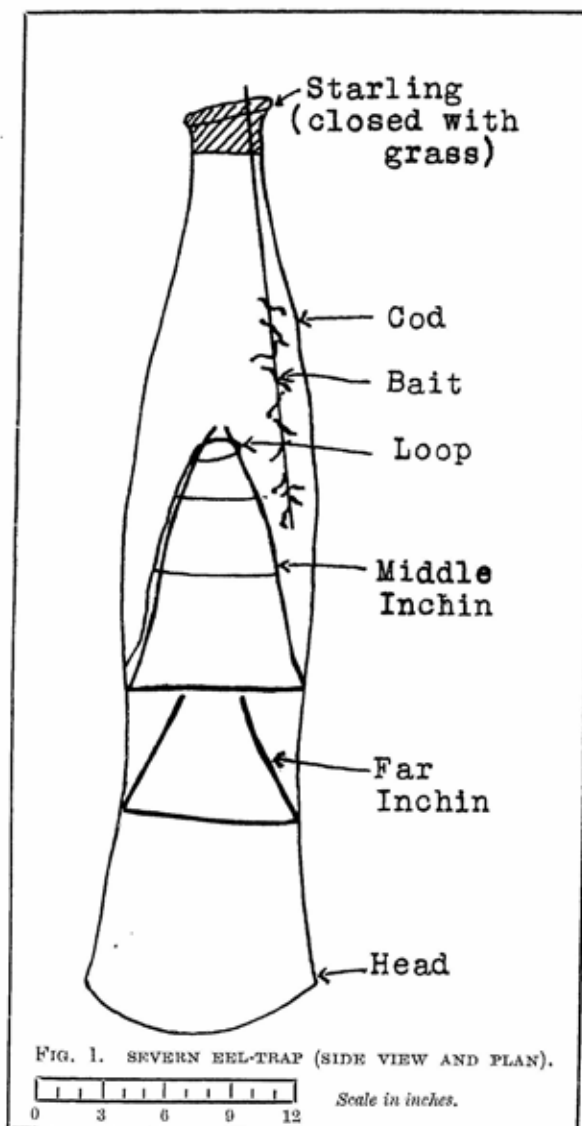
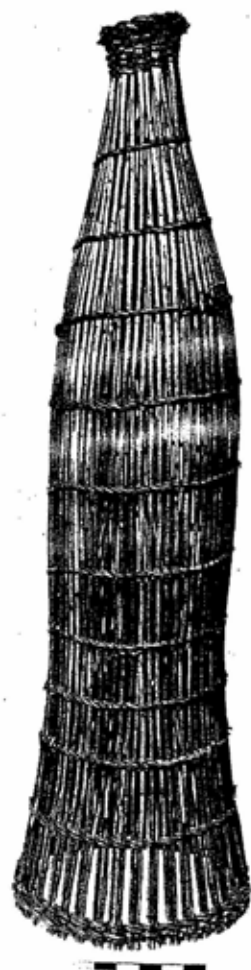


FIG. 3. EEL-TRAP  
FROM MADAGAS-  
CAR.  
*By courtesy of  
the Field Museum,  
Chicago.*

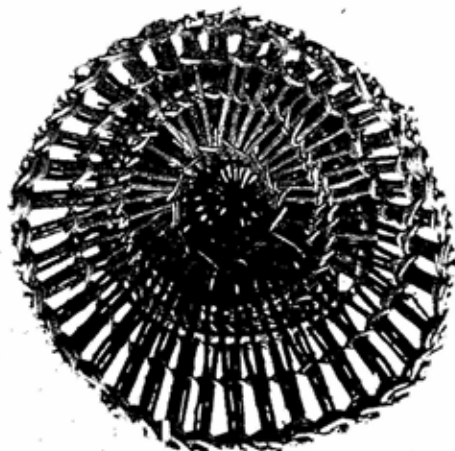


FIG. 2. VIEW OF EEL-TRAP FROM THE HEAD.

# A SEVERN EEL-TRAP.

*Photographs by courtesy of the National Museum of Wales.*



FIG. 4. EEL-TRAP  
FIGURED IN PENI-  
ARTH MS. 56 (1543)  
IN THE NATIONAL  
LIBRARY OF WALES.  
*By courtesy of the  
National Library  
of Wales.*

# MAN

## A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE

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XXXIV, 178-192

OCTOBER, 1934

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES

#### Britain: Technology.

#### With Plate K.

Peate.

**Severn Eel-Traps.** *By Iorwerth C. Peate, M.A., National Museum of Wales.*

Eel-traps are still used on the River Severn, principally in the Worcester area, while salmon- and fish-traps of an associated type are still largely used in the Goldcliff-Newport district of the Severn estuary. The eel-traps, here described, are made by Mr. T. Jenkins, 5, King Street, Worcester, to whom—through the kind offices of Lieut. L. Hugh Milne, R.N.V.R., District Inspector of Fisheries in the South Wales and Severn Area—I am indebted for much information. Mr. Milne has presented a specimen of an eel-trap to the National Museum of Wales (Sub-Department of Folk Culture and Industries), and this description, with the accompanying illustrations, Plate K, is published by courtesy of the Museum.

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The Severn eel-trap (fig. 1) is a basket, 44 inches in length, roughly resembling in shape a closed umbrella. The trap is made of withes bound skilfully together. Inside the trap are fixed two cones of split splints or 'stubbs,' made up of about twenty-four split rods each. The stubbs have sharp pointed ends, and the two cones are known as the 'far inchin' and 'middle inchin.' The large opening into the trap is called the 'head,' and the other end the 'starling.' The middle inchin, which is the inchin furthest from the head, has a much smaller aperture than that of the far inchin. Over this aperture is placed a loop which prevents the stubbs from being opened either by the trapped eels or through the action of water. Plate K, fig. 2, is a photograph of the trap taken from the head, showing the attachment of the far inchin.

The method of setting these traps is as follows:—Two or three small osiers are peeled, a few

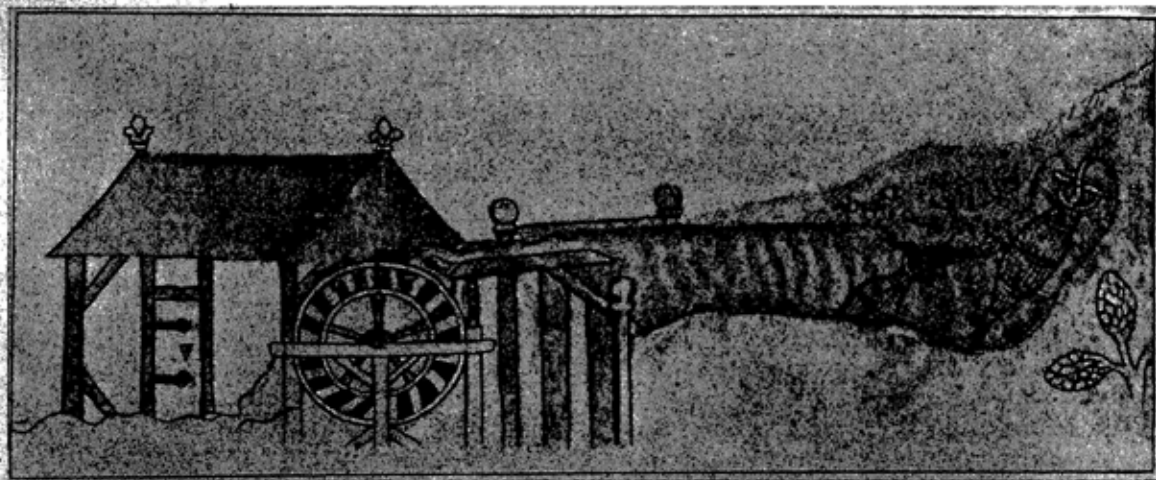


FIG. 5. EEL-TRAPS FIGURED IN THE LUTTRELL PSALTER (14TH CENTURY).  
By courtesy of Messrs. Cassell and Co., publishers of Traill's 'Social England.'

leaves being left on. These are then covered with 'garden worms' fixed on the osiers, and are placed, through the starling, in the 'cod'—a term also used in net fishing, and possibly derived from Welsh *cod*. The starling is closed with a pad of grass or hay. The trap is placed with the head downstream, the starling being fixed with a line attached to a stake or to a bush on the bank and the head held in position by small stones or bricks tied to the basket. The starling is also weighted in the same way. The eels, worming their way through the inchins, to the cod, find that their return is prevented by the sharp ends of the stubbs, which open for their ingress but prevent their egress, the loop preventing the splints from being forced open even if the sharp points be overcome.

This type of trap was well known in Britain in medieval times. Such traps are figured, for instance, in a Welsh manuscript (Peniarth 56) now in the National Library of Wales (fig. 4). This was written in 1543. A still earlier example (fourteenth century) is to be found (fig. 5) in an illustration of a water-mill in the Luttrell Psalter (British Museum, MSS. Royal, 10 E. IV), where the traps are shown in position in the mill-stream. These traps have, however, a wide distribution, and an example is figured (fig. 3) from Madagascar. The writer will be glad to learn of types not recorded in the literature.

IORWERTH C. PEATE.

### Physical Anthropology.

Alsberg.

The Taungs Puzzle. A Biological Essay. By Dr. Paul Alsberg. Berlin.

**179** In his excellent book, 'New Discoveries relating to the Antiquity of Man,' 1931, Sir Arthur Keith deals at particular length with the mysterious Taungs skull found in Bechuanaland, on account of the great importance to human evolution that is generally attributed to the find. After Professor Dart, who discovered and first investigated the skull, had arrived at the conclusion that the former youthful owner of the skull indicated a prehuman stage, though he was not yet a real man, several anthropologists re-examined the find and rejected the human character of the skull. Now Sir A. Keith has again studied its anatomical characteristics, weighing them impartially against one another, so as to establish definitely the genus of the Taungs being. Though he gave full regard to the numerous leanings towards the human form, his ultimate decision agrees with that of the scientists who attribute the skull to an anthropoid. "In spite of its many human traits," he says, "Australopithecus is essentially anthropoid in nature." This decision, however, though set forth very resolutely, is weakened again by Sir A. Keith's following restriction: "If the geological evidence had been such as would have permitted us to attribute 'Australopithecus to a miocene date, then we should have had to consider seriously Professor Dart's contention that in Australopithecus we have a representative of a prehuman stage of man's ancestry. . . . Geological evidence, however, compels us to abandon a miocene date for 'Australopithecus and to attribute it to a geological period when we know that man was already in existence.'" This remark shows us that for the decision that Australopithecus is "an extinct cousin of the chimpanzee and the gorilla," the geological antiquity of the find was in the last instance responsible. But the age of the limestone layer of Taungs is still in question. As Sir A. Keith himself added in a footnote, Dr. Broom is now "convinced that the (contemporary) fauna indicates "that the entombment of the Taungs skull must be attributed to, not a pleistocene, but a pliocene date" . . . "quite likely to be lower pliocene." But could not an early human being of the kind of the Taungs creature fit into the time of the lower pliocene?

At any rate, Sir A. Keith's last reference to the geological antiquity of the Taungs find shows us distinctly the limits that are to be set for the exclusively morphological method of determining skeleton fragments of the very first evolutionary period of mankind. For at the outset the animal and the human characteristics must still be so mingled that, by a purely morphological comparison, it is not possible to say whether a primitive organ is characterized as 'still' animal or 'already' human. Is, for instance, the brain capacity of the Taungs skull, which is estimated at 500 c.c. (by Professor Dart at 520 c.c.), still an animal, or already a human criterion? There are among the anthropoids much larger brains, though scarcely in one so young. A few years ago, when *Pithecanthropus erectus* was still the centre of the controversy, some scientists who favoured the ape theory ranked even a skull content of 850 c.c. as possibly that of an ape. If we accept the



evolutionary doctrine, we must agree that the human brain, be it ever so large to-day, once originated from the very small anthropoid brain. But how could we learn through a purely morphological comparison where, in each special case, the animal ends and man begins?

The author has already pointed out, ten years ago, in his book, 'Das Menschheitsraetsel,'<sup>1</sup> that, in determining such 'border cases,' the *biological* method founded on the facts of life and of evolution may render us valuable service. For the biological consideration of man and the animal will disclose to us the biological boundary between the two. As discussed at length in the book referred to, man and the animal develop on diametrically opposite principles: the animal on the principle of physical or organismal adaptation, man on that of extra-physical or non-organismal adaptation, i.e., of the liberation of the body from the necessity of adaptation by extra-physical means, by 'tools.' The animal possesses a perfect body, having developed manifold structures for defence and offence, such as sharp teeth, claws, horns; swift legs, keen senses; armour, shells, stings; a heavy pelt or a thick layer of fat; poison, scents, pigments, etc. Thus, as a result of complete adaptation to the conditions of environment the animal's body renders full service in the decisive struggle for life. Man's body, on the contrary, exhibits a picture of utter defencelessness and helplessness, while 'all around' man it is his technique that develops, replacing man's adaptation to nature by much more efficacious means, tools.

Thus, while animal evolution aims at the acquisition of physical means of offence and defence, man's evolution aims at the creation of extra-physical tools with which to safeguard existence 'in the place of' the body. Therefore, in the course of human evolution, technique became ever richer and more perfect, while the body—through its constant elimination—became more and more deficient.

The human principle of liberation from the body by tools is not limited to technique; it is also revealed in the 'mental' province. For alongside of his technical tools, man has also created mental tools: the word, as the basic element of our speech, and the concept, as the basic element of our reason. Taking 'the place of' their objects (of which they are symbols), both word and concept free man from the body compulsion of direct perception of the objects.<sup>2</sup> Animals are always physically confined to those things that are present before their sense organs. By his speech and reason, man, however, is able to overleap space and time, and so to grasp and to connect mentally all the facts and events in the world. Though the human principle of body liberation is active outside of the body, through tools, it has, nevertheless, affected the body significantly. On one side the body has suffered regressive modifications due to its permanent elimination by tools: the general symptom of increasing deficiency, the retrogression of the jaws, of the teeth, etc. On the other side, the permanent use of tools has caused progressive changes: the supporting foot and all the other modifications produced by upright walking, the improvement of the hand, the development of the speech organs (chin formation?), the enlargement of the brain. Owing to this indirect influence of the human principle, man's body has acquired features that are as characteristic of the principle of body liberation (tool-using) as on the other hand the structures of the animal body are significant for the principle of body adaptation.

Some naturalists believe that apes are also able to manufacture primitive tools, as it has been observed that they use stones, etc., like tools. However, the excessive development of the ape hand into a climbing organ with extremely long digits and reduced thumb, shows us very plainly that ape evolution has not taken the human direction but the opposite one of the animal, body adaptation. That is to say, the evolution of the apes entirely disregarded their occasional use of tools. Originally the ape hand was better adapted for tool-using (and from this humanity started); to-day it is less so. Therefore, the decisive factor in the evolution of the apes was never the use of tools, but on the contrary it was always their climbing (body adaptation). We must not assume that tools are created from one day to another, 'incidentally' as one may say. Rather the manufacture of tools is the result of a long stretch of evolution intensely focused on permanent tool-using. The tendency towards improvement in the use of tools inspires the manufacture of tools, and through it the development not only of the hand, but of the whole body, takes a new direction, the human direction, which alone is based on the tool principle. The apes, on the contrary, exhibit in their

<sup>1</sup> An English translation is in preparation.

<sup>2</sup> On the extra-physical nature of word and concept, see also the author's 'Zur Grundbestimmung der Vernunft,' Schopenhauer-Jahrbuch, 1931.

entire organization the opposite picture of body adaptation, proving without doubt that they never proceeded beyond an occasional use of tools, thus being entirely insignificant for their evolution itself.

The contrast of their evolutionary principles draws a sharp boundary-line between man and animal. This biological separation is very useful in determining 'border-line cases.' Thus it proves positively that the world-wide object of controversy—the *Pithecanthropus erectus*—must be classed as human.<sup>3</sup>

The Trinil skull-cap permits five conclusions:—

1. The sutures point out that the skull belonged to an adult individual.
2. The absolute size of the skull points out that the individual belonged to a tall, strong race.
3. The complete lack of crests, in spite of the skull's age and size, points out that the individual possessed no fighting teeth like the gorilla, orang, baboon, but that his canines were relatively small.
4. The sharp downward bend of the occipital bone, in connection with the forward position of the *foramen magnum* close to the middle of the horizontal skull basis (even without the conclusive accompanying find of the femur) points out that the posture was permanently upright.
5. The cranial cavity points out that the brain had a capacity of about 850 c.c.

The lack of fighting teeth (see conclusion 3) proves positively that the Trinil being was at any rate not a 'fighting ape' like the gorilla. There remains the possibility of his belonging to the 'flight apes,' whose defence lies in their excellent climbing. This assumption, however, is contradicted by conclusions 1 and 2. For considering the tall and strong build (conclusion 2) and the advanced age (conclusion 1) of the Trinil being, we must assume that it would have changed to 'fighting' long ago, like all tall and strong adult apes, a development that would have resulted in large canines and skull crests. Finally, there still remains the theoretical possibility, that the Trinil being was the female of a fighting ape, and hence did not need to acquire crests and fighting teeth. But all these possibilities are eliminated by conclusion 4, the upright walk. The specific characters that the upright gait produced on the skull force us to pre-suppose the same tendency for the rest of the body, especially the foot. The foot of the Trinil being must already have been a supporting foot, or at least must have been in process of transformation into such an organ. At any rate, it was no longer a climbing foot, since the adoption of the upright walk in connection with habitual living on the ground implies the abandonment of climbing. Thus the Trinil being cannot have been a flight ape either. Being neither a fight ape with large canines nor a flight ape with climbing feet, it is therefore proved to have been a creature with the stamp of physical defencelessness: a 'man.' Of course, not a man in the anatomical sense of recent *Homo sapiens*, but a man in the biological sense of a peculiar being which is sharply separated from the animal by a special evolutionary principle. A real man, though only an evolutionary pre-stage of recent man.

The conclusion is the more cogent because the adoption of the upright gait is bound up with the fight principle. A being that adopted erect walking needed strong weapons for the struggle of existence. Only a fighting ape of the defensive type of the gorilla could risk habitual upright walking, and in that case the females also, because of their renunciation of climbing, would have had to be equipped with strong canines. Therefore the Trinil being must also have possessed strong weapons; but as he did not have them *within* his body, they must have been *outside* of it, in his tools. Only after the humanity of the Trinil being is recognized does conclusion 5—the large measurements of the skull capacity—acquire due significance. For the cranial volume of 850 c.c. is far beyond the frame of the whole ape morphology. Such a large growth of the brain must needs have its deep biological reason. The brain will never develop to such extent 'incidentally,' but only from inner necessity, such as the human principle requires. Probably the Trinil being already had a primitive language, an assumption that is also supported by the distinct configuration of the speech convolution (Dubois). The idea that an extinct ape-species possessed a brain of human or

<sup>3</sup> See also the author's '*Pithecanthropus erectus*—*Homo Trinilis*,' *Zeitschrift f. Morphol. u. Anthropol.* Bd. XXV.H.2.

nearly human measurements is as erroneous as the idea that an extinct ape-species possessed human speech. Either the evolutionary principle is the human one, in which case we have to deal with a man; or it is the animal one, in which case the human characteristics are lacking altogether. There can never be a mingling of the two evolutionary principles, because in their contradistinction they exclude one another.

The above discussion about *Pithecanthropus erectus*, out of which *Homo Trinilis* emerged victoriously, was justified because we had to deal with a 'border case' in which a definite decision can be reached by the biological method. Naturalists, such as Bumüller and Naef, who to this day hold the Trinil being to be an ape, occupy an abandoned position. However, so long as only the method of morphological comparison was available, no strict confutation was possible.

In the case of the Taungs find, matters are not so simple, because the skull belonged to an infantile individual. The question remains open, how the Taungs being may have looked when adult. But here the biological method can also be called in to advantage to assist the morphological method. He who, though he may be a pure morphologist, approaches the Taungs find impartially, must be struck by the mass of humanoid characters that the skull exhibits. It even possesses structures that are never found in apes but exclusively in man, and which therefore are purely human, such as the dolichocephaly, the protuberance of the forehead, the arrangement of the sphenoid bone, the smallness of the cerebellum as compared to the cerebrum, etc. If, therefore, the Taungs child was anthropoid, then it must have belonged to a race much nearer to human conditions than are the anthropoids known so far. Whether or not we dare make such an assumption is a question to be decided no longer morphologically but only biologically.

From the biological standpoint the absolute size of the Taungs skull interests us at first, and we determine that its size is nearly the same as that of a gorilla skull of the corresponding age. The Taungs being, therefore, belonged to a tall, strong race, hence as an ape it should have developed fighting characters—large canines, etc. But the structure of its face displays nothing of the kind. The length of the jaw remains not only considerably behind that of a gorilla of this age, but it does not even reach the measurements of a young chimpanzee. Compared with man of to-day, however, it shows a very strong prognathism. The morphologist determines, therefore, that the Taungs child as regards its palate is closer to the ape than to man, whereas the biologist decides that it is closer to man, because, if it were an ape, it would have much greater prognathism. The very small canines of the Taungs skull correspond with the reduced length of the palate. This feature is again important for the biologist. For we know that the enormous transformation of the skulls of the gorilla, the orang, etc., as displayed by the wide projection of the muzzle, by the skull crests, etc., is caused precisely by the enormous growth of the canines (Selenka). Now, Sir A. Keith demonstrated admirably the considerable difference between the small canines of the Taungs child and the strong ones of the young gorilla, which betray already the later fighting dentition. The Taungs canines are so small that they are even inferior to the weak canines of a chimpanzee of corresponding age. If we may draw a conclusion from these facts, it must be that the Taungs being in adult age would never have developed strong canines in the manner of the gorilla or even of the chimpanzee. This conclusion is the more remarkable, since the permanent molars of Taungs are so large that Sir A. Keith, in spite of their humanoid structure, holds them comparable only to the gorilla molars. Therefore, I entirely agree with his conclusion that, judging from the molar development of the young creature, the adult Taungs being must have been provided with massive jaws and palate. This harmonizes perfectly with our former assumption that in the Taungs creature we have to deal with a representative of a tall, strong race such as, on the human side, we know in Neanderthal and Heidelberg man, and indeed in most primitive men. In agreement with the massive permanent teeth that we must assume, the canines must also have been strong as compared with man of to-day, though weak as compared with the ape. This may explain the small diastema of the upper jaw which, in difference from the ape, is lacking in the lower jaw.

—The first biological decision on the Taungs child is therefore as follows: A strong, massive race with reduced jaws and small canines (both as compared to the ape) points in the human direction.

We shall arrive at the same biological decision as regards the brain structure of the Taungs

being. Though the brain volume remains within the range of ape morphology and far behind that of a human child of to-day, yet it would be much too large for a young anthropoid. We therefore must infer that the full-grown Taungs brain would correspondingly have far exceeded the brain of an adult ape. This tendency towards brain enlargement, shown already by the Taungs child's increased brain as compared to that of the young anthropoid, is no doubt a characteristic of human evolution. If we put our two biological decisions side by side, we see that they are complementary: the tendency towards reduction of the jaws biologically conjunct with the tendency towards enlargement of the brain fits exactly into the evolutionary scheme of man, but never into that of the ape.

Considering the distribution of weight within the skull, we have to assume, if only for static reasons, that the Taungs child carried its head upright. The forward position of the *foramen magnum* corresponds also to this assumption. The fact that with all young anthropoids the *foramen* lies forward is by no means an argument against the humanity of the Taungs creature. At most we may say that in this point—as in many others—man and the ape agree. However, an anthropoid of such size with reduced jaws and increased brain does not exist at all; in that stage of growth the facial skull is already beginning to outweigh the brain skull. With the Taungs being, on the other hand, the further growth of the brain will cause the static moment to move still more towards the erect posture of the body. All scientists agree that the Taungs creature had an erect posture. Yet the question remains open whether the Taungs race practised upright walking habitually. If it did, the arguments for the humanity of the Taungs child would be conclusive.

Since the skulls of female anthropoids suffer comparatively slight modifications from the infant skulls, the Taungs skull has been declared to be female. In that case, however, the large size of its brain would be of still greater difference to that of the apes, the females having much smaller brains than the males.

Summing up, we conclude that the Taungs child belonged to a strong race; that, in spite of a massive dentition, it possessed small canines; that it developed a comparatively large brain, and that its posture was erect.<sup>4</sup> This is a complex of indications that points plainly in the human direction. Only from this perspective the great amount of these and other human features, as set forth by Professor Dart and Sir Arthur Keith, can be explained. To consider such an accumulation of human characters as an accidental aggregation would be a thoroughly insufficient explanation. The construction of the body must always be based upon a central dominating plan that is adjusted to the evolutionary principle of either animal or man. An ape that is half or quarter of a man is a biological misunderstanding. Professor Sir Arthur Keith ends his statements with the words: "We may regard the gorilla, chimpanzee and *Australopithecus* as a series in which the chimpanzee represents the older and more primitive form. From this central type the gorilla has evolved in the direction of increased brutalization, while *Australopithecus* has branched in an opposite direction, thus assuming many human traits." Here the biologists will decide that this direction was therefore the human one.

In my opinion, man and the anthropoids originated from a common root. The chimpanzee remained closest to it, because it persisted in the flight principle and mainly developed its climbing faculty, whereas the gorilla passed over to the fighting principle, hence developing, among other features, enormous canines. Man adopted the fighting principle also, but through the use of 'extra-physical' means (tools). Therefore, the human body developed in the direction of the use of tools. If we were to paint a theoretical picture of the first stages of man, we should necessarily arrive at a form such as the Taungs child presents: the jaws are beginning to recede, the brain is about to increase. If Dr. Broom's opinion is correct that the Taungs creature belonged in the time of the Lower Pliocene, then the geological antiquity would also not bar the supposition that the being was human. The Taungs race would then represent a human stage far older than the Trinil race, and correspondingly much more primitive.

[<sup>4</sup> Dr. Alsberg does not seem to be acquainted with Dr. Zuckermann's argument (*Proc. Zool. Soc.*, 1928) to the effect that the brain volume of the adult *Australopithecus* almost certainly did not exceed that of the modern gorilla.—Ed.]



The only positive weakness of such a supposition lies in the youth of the Taungs creature. We can, of course, never say with absolute certainty how the Taungs child would have looked when adult. Therefore, the supposition remains purely speculative until further discoveries in this direction are made. However, in my opinion, the biological view should warn us against a definite decision in favour of the ape nature of the Taungs being. At least, the possibility should be left open that the Taungs child belonged to a very early human stage. Thus we avoid obstructing the way to deeper investigation into the very earliest beginnings of the human process. P. ALSBERG.

### Africa: West.

Earthy.

Short Note on a Kisi Smith. By E. Dora Earthy.

The Kisi tribe (also known as Ghizi or Kissi) inhabits contiguous districts in the hinterland of French Guinea, Liberia and the Sierra Leone Protectorate.

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#### I

To a student of totemism this tribe would furnish valuable data. Physically, there appear to be at least two main types, one distinctly pygmy, the other tall. In some villages the Mendi are absorbing the Kisi by intermarriage, and thus influencing their language, which is supposed to be a semi-Bantu one. Sir H. Johnston, however, stated that the language "had no doubt anciently a semi-Bantu basis, but it has been so overlaid with non-Bantu features, and has departed so considerably from Bantu standards in its word-roots and syntax, that it cannot be classed logically as a semi-Bantu language." *Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, p. 748.

It may be that not only is the Kisi language "overlaid with non-Bantu features," but that originally it was of pre-Bantu type; as I believe some philologists consider Bantoid languages to be pre-Hamitic or archaic Hamitic in character. It is, however, dangerous for a non-philologist to be prying into a basement of the Tower of Babel, so I must content myself with stating that Kisi has to be studied in relation to the languages of surrounding tribes, especially Mendi, Kono and Vai.

#### II

This short digression has been made for the purpose of introducing the vocabulary of the Kisi smith. In the winter of 1932, when doing research work on child life for the "Save the Children" Fund, by the generosity of which I was enabled to carry out this work, I often had occasion to pass the native smith's forge, which is generally situated on the right hand of the main hill-path leading to nearly every village of importance, in those parts of the Liberian Hinterland which I was able to visit, especially at the junction of the Gbande, Kisi and Buzi tribes. Gbande smiths may use each other's forges, and apparently travel about to do a day's work from village to village as required.

The Kisi smith, whose forge I am here describing, was working at the Gbande town of Polahun. There must have been a considerable number of Kisi inhabitants in the town, as, indeed, there are in most of the villages in this neighbourhood. His forge, however, presented some differences from those of the Gbande smiths, one of which, situated on the right-hand side of the ascent to



FIG. 1.



Tahulahun, is seen in Fig. 1. Tahulahun was formerly the seat of the late Mambu, at one time paramount chief of the Gbande, Kisi and Buzi tribes, but each of these tribes has now its own head chief.

The Kisi smith working at Polahun told me that his name was Momoli. When I asked if he had any other name, he said: "No. If I had a second name, the big devil of the Bush School would tie me to a pole until I should pay a heavy fine." He added, however, that women were allowed to have two names, one of which was their bush-school name, and that both men and women belonging to the Kisi tribe, outside the boundaries of French Guinea, might have two names.

Momoli's shed had a palm-thatched roof supported by poles. The furnace consisted of two oval formations resembling large, smooth stones, but made of very hard clay, with the fire between them. The anvil was a real stone situated in front of the fire, while the smith sat sideways. One of the clay formations was called 'the man,' the other 'the woman.' A small depression had been made in the male stone to serve as a receptacle for holding small pieces of iron. On the right of the furnace was a small semicircular wall built of clay, for enclosing charcoal. In the Gbande smith's furnace, the two clay sides unite at the top to form a vent.

Momoli's tools consisted of bellows, two or three kinds of hammers, pincers or tongs, and a wooden tray for holding charcoal. There were other implements, such as a cutlass, a native razor, and an instrument for hacking bunches of palm-nuts from the tree. The bellows consisted of two wooden bowls covered with deer-skin. I did not particularly notice the nozzles, but think the horns of the same animal were used to form them. It is almost invariably the work of a little boy to blow the fire with the bellows, and it must be exhausting work, especially on a hot day.

Iron used is said to be procured from a mountain in French Guinea, but the smith often re-fashions old iron. I never saw any ore-smelting. Neither did I see the making of the iron bars used in currency, commonly called 'Kisi pennies.' These bars are about a foot and a-half long, and consist of a twisted stem, and a so-called 'ear' and 'foot.' It is considered polite to the chiefs to use this currency instead of West African money, and the rate of exchange varies from 40 to 45 bars for a shilling.

The ironsmith's work is, of course, quite distinct from that of the silversmith, one of whom is generally to be found in every village of importance in the Hinterland. These men are of Mendi or Mandingo origin, and have an elaborate stock-in-trade. I have watched their work on several occasions.

When studying the Kisi language I was particularly interested in the fact that the word meaning 'formerly,' *olonin*, seems to have the same root as *olokun*, which Frobenius tells us is the name of 'the house-god' in the 'Atlantic' culture of the West Coast. In Kisi, 'nin' means 'in' and 'kun' means 'that.' The word for God is *Melika* ('sky').

#### THE KISI SMITH'S VOCABULARY.

Smith	-	-	-	-	<i>sumnaw</i>	Chisel-hammer (like a bar of iron, without head)	-	-	-	-	<i>sipo</i>
Silversmith or brass-smith	-	-	-	-	<i>kebino</i>	Anvil (lit: 'stone-smith-his')	-	-	-	-	<i>powa sumndo</i>
Bellows	-	-	-	-	<i>kulang</i>	Implement for cutting down palm-nut heads	-	-	-	-	<i>bosio</i>
Bellows (wooden bowl)	-	-	-	-	<i>bolo</i>	Native razor	-	-	-	-	<i>kusiya</i>
Bellows (membrane)	-	-	-	-	<i>kyialu</i>	Wooden tray for charcoal	-	-	-	-	<i>bo</i>
Semicircular wall for enclosing charcoal.	-	-	-	-	<i>tundu wu</i>	Cutlass	-	-	-	-	<i>lendo</i>
The 'woman' clay firestone	-	-	-	-	<i>waswendu</i>	Iron bar used in currency	-	-	-	-	<i>kilindi</i> or <i>khidindi</i>
The 'man' clay firestone	-	-	-	-	<i>tundu landu</i>	'Ear' of currency bar	-	-	-	-	<i>nileng</i>
Fire	-	-	-	-	<i>tundu piandu</i>	'Stem' of currency bar	-	-	-	-	<i>kilindi</i>
Ashes	-	-	-	-	<i>yinding</i>	'Foot' of currency bar	-	-	-	-	<i>kodo</i>
Recess in <i>tundu piandu</i> for holding pieces of iron	-	-	-	-	<i>putang</i>	Axe	-	-	-	-	<i>tshue</i> , <i>pl. tshuwong</i>
Pincers or tongs	-	-	-	-	<i>thengu</i>	Hoe	-	-	-	-	<i>dendo</i> , <i>pl. dendalang</i>
Hammer (with head resembling a bird's head)	-	-	-	-	<i>banyaa</i>						
Hammer (with head like that of a large nail)	-	-	-	-	<i>kangu</i>						

It is to be noted that tiny models of the smith's tools are often worn as 'sacrifices,' i.e., votive offerings to spirits. In this case they are generally made by the silversmith, although in iron. One day I saw an old Buzi woman wearing three of these on her wrist, two of which represented hammers,

and the third, pincers. On another occasion I saw a Gbande baby with a tiny model of the *sipo* hammer tied on its wristlet as a protective charm. The ashes from a smith's forge mixed with a decoction of limes is used for a medicine for yaws.

E. DORA EARTHY.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

### America, South.

**The Use and Origin of Yerba Maté.** *Summary of the Address of Capt. T. A. Joyce, O.B.E., President of the Anthropological Section of the British Association: Aberdeen, September, 1934.*

Joyce.

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Infusions from vegetable products are common throughout the world. *Yerba Maté* is procured from the leaves and shoots of *Ilex paraguayensis*, a shrub indigenous to Paraguay and to southern Brazil. After drying, aided by fire, hot water is poured on the broken or powdered leaf in a gourd or silver cup (*maté*), and the infusion is imbibed through a tube (*bombilla*) of silver or of native bambu. From the centre of its origin it spread rapidly to Argentina, Chile, and Peru, and, especially since the War, when many South American contingents were engaged, it has become more familiar in Europe.

It contains little or no tannin, combines favourably with a meat diet, and can be repeatedly refreshed by hot water without deleterious effects. It is antiscorbutic and a very refreshing aperient when lukewarm. The word for the receptacle (*maté*) became transferred to the leaf and the drink.

The first mention of the drink in published literature occurs in a book by Nicolás Durán, a Jesuit missionary in Paraguay in the early seventeenth century, who travelled through the province of Guaira and the Jesuit Missions. This region was then a centre of *yerba maté* preparation and of distribution. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Nicolas del Techo (du Toict), another Jesuit missionary, writes of the use of the drink in Paraguay and of the abuses which resulted. Southey, writing in 1817, avers that over-indulgence has been known to result in almost total mental aberration, lasting over many days; and the danger of serious infection from a common *bombilla*, which passes from lip to lip, is emphasised by many writers. As regards the properties of the *ilex*, which have won for it so widespread a popularity, authorities are not quite in accord.

The initial exploitation of the 'tea' was undoubtedly due to the Jesuit missionaries, 1609-1774, who encouraged the use of the leaf among their Indians. But the revenues derived from the trade in the leaf became indispensable to these self-supporting communities. On the expulsion of the Jesuits, in 1774, their houses and lands became Crown property, and in 1807 the profits derived from the *maté* industry were reckoned at £100,000 annually. Long before this, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the leaf had become an article of trade to the western provinces of Argentina, to Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. The chief collecting region was the Maracayu district. Asunción was the outlying depôt, whence the produce was sent by river to Santa Fé, on the Paraná, the chief depôt for external trade. The most detailed account of the industry was given by the Robertsons in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The origin of the practice of infusing the leaves of the *ilex* is obscure. Before the earliest mention of the drink by Nicolás Durán, 1626-27, the beverage had spread far and wide through South America. But there is no account of its discovery. Pinelo, writing in 1636, refers to a lost author, Robles Cornejo, *Examen de los Simples Medicinales*, 1617, for a full account. But the book has absolutely disappeared.

So far, evidence would seem to show that the drink was a native discovery, developed by the Jesuits; but a study of the early history of the country provides another aspect. The Rio de la Plata was discovered by Juan Diaz de Solis in 1516. In 1534 an expedition was sent from Spain under Pedro de Mendoza to make permanent occupation of the country to the north. With him sailed one Ulrich Schmidt, or Schmiedel, a Bavarian agent of merchants in Seville. He ascended the Paraná and Paraguay with the pioneer expeditions and made many journeys of exploration. His reminiscences are remarkable for the accuracy of his memory and the incredible vileness of his orthography. His narrative is of great importance to anthropology. He writes in detail what he

had to drink and eat, and where. But in none of his copious food notes does he ever make mention, in his twenty years' experience, of the use of the ilex leaf, either chewed or infused.

During the period of Schmidt's residence in Paraguay, Cabeza de Vaca made a remarkable overland journey to the newly founded Asunción, passing through country where the ilex grew naturally. His narrative (1555) is full of ethnographical details, yet in his account there is no mention of the ilex.

Nicolas Monardes, between 1569 and 1574, and Diaz de Guzman (1612), have also no mention of the 'Herb of Paraguay.' Thus the first reference to the use of the ilex leaf occurs more than ninety years after Schmidt entered the country. The inference is that the leaf was not in general use by the natives prior to the establishment of the Jesuit missions, except, perhaps, for chewing.

The native names of the dried leaf (in the Guaraní dialect *Caamini* and *Caaguazú*; in Brazil, *Congonha*) give little help.

The tree itself was known as *caa*, which simply means 'tree.' The implication is that, as far as the natives were concerned, the ilex was merely a tree. It has been suggested that the word *caa* bears some relation to the Chinese *c'ha*, meaning 'tea' in the Pekinese, Mandarin and Cantonese dialects. Tea was first brought to Europe by the Dutch in the early seventeenth century from Bantam, whither it had been imported by Chinese merchants from Amoy, where it was called 'té.' The Portuguese found it in Macao, under the name *c'ha*, a little later. The first mention of tea in Western literature is in Maffei's *Historia Indica* (1558). It is not inconceivable that the Jesuits of the period, looking for a substitute for tea (by then introduced into southern Europe), also introduced the Chinese word, which was mis-pronounced by the natives.

The subsequent development of the *Yerbales*, or ilex plantations, is a matter of history. The economic importance of the leaf soon led to attempts to bring young trees under cultivation but in vain. Seedlings were also a failure. The eventual success is recorded by Dobrizhoffer (1749). On the expulsion of the Jesuits the plantations disappeared, and only in recent years have successful *yerbales* been established in North-eastern Argentina.

The ilex tree remained without any name assigned by international botanists until the nineteenth century, when A. B. Lambert, the distinguished English botanist, described the tree in 1824, illustrated it, and gave it the name *Ilex paraguayensis*.

The subject of *Yerba maté* may seem, at first sight, to be a little remote. But the study of Ethno-botany is of the highest importance. The rapid spread of stimulants, narcotics and food plants throughout the world has a direct bearing on culture-diffusion.

But valuable food plants, especially cereals, spread so rapidly that their origin becomes obscured. Maize, indigenous to America and unknown in the Old World before Columbus, became the staple food of half Africa within a century of the discovery, spreading from tribe to tribe, far beyond European exploration. There is a splendid opportunity for a young man, trained in botany, to undertake the revision of Alphonse de Candolle's *Origin of Cultivated Plants*.

#### Anthropology at the British Association : 182 Summary of the Proceedings of Section H at the Aberdeen Meeting, 5-12 September, 1934.

Though the President of the Section, Captain T. A. Joyce, was prevented by illness from being present, his address was communicated by the Recorder and Local Secretary, Dr. J. F. Tocher, to whose efforts the successful organization of the proceedings was mainly due. Lord Raglan, last year's President, was a stimulating chairman. Principal topics of discussion were African and Indian ethnology, and Scottish folklore and archaeology, but there were, as usual, contributions to almost all the principal branches of anthropology and ethnology. The veteran Professor R. W. Reid was present to do the honours of the magnificent collections which his lifelong devotion has brought

together in the Anatomical Department of Marischal College, and in the archaeological and ethnographical gallery of the University Museum. Captain Rattray raised the question whether anthropology in Africa and elsewhere is to be regarded as an archaeological study of a dead past, or as a vital factor in shaping the destinies of the peoples themselves. The decision depended, in his view, on native collaboration in anthropological experiments, and in discrimination of the vital elements in native culture. The practical objective may be defined as the retention of the particular genius and individuality of the races concerned. Lively discussion followed, and illustrations of the main theme were contributed by Miss Dora Earthy's account of the *Health Cult of an African Tribe* in the Liberian hinterland, and by Mr. Driberg's examination of the *Real Meaning of Ancestor Worship*

in Africa. Mr. E. J. Wayland's discussion of *Rifts, Rivers and Rains in Uganda* in relation to human occupancy might seem from its title to be concerned with what Captain Rattray deprecates; but the geographical and climatic conditions, especially in the rift-valley region, which has been profoundly modified within human times, can now be correlated with homologous changes elsewhere, and throw valuable light on the sequence of cultures, as well as on the present hydrography, more especially as regards the history of the Nile.

Two papers by Indian colleagues dealt with analogous topics, the *Racial Types in the Population of India*, by Dr. B. S. Guha, of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the *Chadak Festival in Bengal*, by Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyay. Dr. Guha's observations in connexion with the Census of India, in 1930-34, analyzed statistically by Karl Pearson's method, distinguished the basic Mediterranean element common to Brahmins and upper-caste population from a superimposed 'Alpine' strain in Western India and Bengal, which nevertheless arrived very early, as the Harappa finds show, and from a 'proto Nordic' element which Dr. Guha connects with the Aryan invasion of North-Western India. Mongoloid influence is conspicuous along the Himalayan borderlands, and the eastern frontiers; and the definitely Negrito strain in the aboriginal tribes is still to be found among the Kadars of Cochin. It is interesting to find that the most modern methods on the whole confirm earlier analyses, and also show that there is no marked morphological difference between Brahmins and other upper caste people.

Professor W. C. O. Hill reviewed the *Physical Anthropology of the existing Veddahs of Ceylon*, whose characteristics are changing as their numbers decrease. New material, including two complete bodies and recent skeletons, permit re-formulation of Veddah affinities with Indian jungle-tribes on the one hand, and with Negritos and Australians on the other. Interesting anomalies recur in Sinhalese and Tamil bodies.

Miss Ailsa Nicol Smith illustrated *Material Culture as an Introduction to Social Culture*, mainly from the collections of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Strait, and especially from costume. In simple societies there is presumably a reason for wearing anything at all, either in daily life or on special occasions. Secular occasions give expression to individual taste, ritual occasions to the aesthetic sense of the whole society, contributing profoundly to religious sentiment as well as to social functions. We shall wear our best hats with a good conscience after this demonstration of the practical value of ethnography, and of Capt. Rattray's 'retention of the particular genius and individuality of the race.' An excellent paper, constructive and well illustrated.

This is perhaps the point at which to note Mrs. Hasluck's provocative account of the *Flattening of Albanian Heads and the Evolution of European Cradles*. There is no doubt about the flat occiput, but is it art or nature? In some districts Albanian

babies are strapped to flat boards; yet not to flatten their heads, but magically to strengthen their hold on life, and practically for convenient handling. And heads are flatter in boardless districts. Mrs. Hasluck's cradle-typology was challenged by Lord Raglan: is the mere back-board primordial or vestigial? Professor Myres, without disputing either development or degeneration, noted that in refugee-areas so profoundly segregated as the mountain districts of Albania, primitive, derivative, and intrusive types might be expected to accumulate concurrently. A pressman in search of something silly found what he wanted during this debate, and misreported it.

*Prehistoric Archaeology in the North-East of Scotland* was reviewed by Dr. J. Graham Callander, though the district is still less well studied than its remarkable and varied antiquities deserve. A few long-cairns and surface finds go back to the Stone Age; more than two hundred stone circles are known in Aberdeenshire alone; Loch Kinord has at least one early Crannog, and there are 'earth houses,' and two fine 'vitrified forts.' Dr. Alexander Keiller dealt more in detail with the *Megalithic Monuments of the North-East*, and Mrs. H. W. Elgee with the *Megalithic Cult of the Eastern Moorlands of Yorkshire*; and there was a Saturday excursion to Barmekin of Echt, Sunhoney Stone Circle, and Midmar. Professor V. Gordon Childe dealt with the ethnological interpretation of the archaeological material, and the *Arrival of the Celts in Scotland*. Pottery resembling English 'Hallstatt' wares has been found in Aberdeenshire, Morayshire and Shetland with Late Bronze Age objects of Britannico-Hibernian type, and an earth house. The precise origin of these continental intruders cannot be determined, but Professor Childe is inclined to think them Pictish. Cognate people, with other elements from Yorkshire, may have reinforced the Bronze Age population of the Lowlands, and established the hill-top towns. The transition to the Iron Age is gradual here.

The Gallic and vitrified forts, unparalleled in England, are to be attributed to La Tène Celts coming across the North Sea with iron industry and safety pins, before 200 B.C. But their forts were mostly abandoned before the Roman conquest. Quite distinct, and attributable to West Coast movements, are the well-constructed stone forts, galleried duns, and brochs, castles rather than villages, probably built for Brythonic Celts from Cornwall, where are the nearest counterparts. The crannogs represent refugees, from Yorkshire rather than from Somerset, and cannot be later than 100 B.C.

These papers, and that of Dr. A. B. Scott on the *Historical Sequence of Peoples, Culture and Characteristics in Scotland from 400 B.C. to 950 B.C.* carrying forward the story begun by Professor Childe into documentary periods, are sufficient answer to the complaint of one speaker that archaeology was being neglected in Section H. Its counterpart, the folklore of Gaelic-speaking Britain, was well represented by Mr. K. H. Jackson's account of the



*Gaelic Shanachies*, the village entertainers and preservers of folk-tales derived from travellers as well as from local predecessors. Canon J. A. MacCulloch illustrated one aspect of this traditional repertoire, and its cultural background, in the *Folklore and Archaic Magic of the Scottish Witch Trials*, which betray the same confusion of thought as in recent Colonial legislation in Africa between the *maleficium* of the sorcerer and the more harmless arts of folk-medicine, fortune telling, and traditional fairy lore. There is, however, no real historic evidence for a witch-cult in Scotland.

Mr. James Cooper Clarke gave an interesting account of the *Aztec Manuscript known as the Collection of Mendoza*, now in the Bodleian Library after remarkable adventures since it was compiled in 1549 as an official ethnography of New Spain; one of the classics, truly, of this group of studies, and remarkable for the acute observations, and historical perspective, of its native Mexican author and illustrator.

Lord Raglan's examination of the *Cult of Animals* raised a large number of suggestive and controversial points, and offered a comprehensive philo-

sophy of symbolization, which begins with religious philosophies, and has filtered down to children and savages, by progressive provision of ritually effective substitutes, reflecting the conventional symbolism of the human group. But did not the religious philosopher originate either as a savage or as a child, or both?

Quite a different topic was offered by Dr. J. F. Tocher in his review of the *Services of Francis Galton and his School to Physical Anthropology and Eugenics*. Galton was President of Section H at Aberdeen in 1885, and his address on that occasion is a landmark of anthropological method, introducing the principle of correlation, by which, as he had recently shown, heredity could be quantitatively measured. Galton looked forward to the day when conscious selection for race betterment would be sanctioned by the State, supported by public opinion; and it has been the conspicuous service of his school to provide material for the study of Man's past and what will be, without conscious selection, his likely future. A powerful and opportune plea for the study of this material by those who hold the helm of the State. J. L. MYRES.

# KEY TO PLATE I-J.

## INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

GROUP OF MEMBERS PHOTOGRAPHED AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE: 2 AUGUST, 1934. MAN, PLATE I-J.

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No names were recorded when this photograph was taken, but the following have been identified by officers of the Congress and others. The letters and numerals are those printed on the margin of the photographs in Plate I-J. The Editor of MAN will be grateful for further identifications.

A	B	C
<i>Front Row.</i>	<i>Front Row.</i>	<i>Front Row.</i>
1. Dr. P. J. Schoeman.	1. Dr. H. S. Harrison.	1. Prof. J. H. Fleure.
2. Mrs. Schoeman.	2. Prof. E. P. McLoughlin.	2. Prof. E. Pittard.
3.	3. Dr. L. W. G. Malcolm.	3. Prof. Şevket Aziz.
4. Prof. Dr. J. Erdeljanovič.	4. Dr. A. C. Haddon.	4. Prof. J. Tenenbaum.
5. Miss P. M. Kemp.	5. J. Cooper Clark.	5. Dr. W. L. Hildburgh.
6. Miss O. Lodge.	6. Mrs. T. A. Joyce.	6. Prof. S. Poniatowski.
7. Mme. Erdeljanovič.	7. Lord Raglan.	7. Prof. V. Suk.
8.	8. T. A. Joyce.	8. Mme. Pertold.
9. K. N. Dikshit.	9. Lord Onslow.	9. Prof. O. Pertold.
10.	10. Rev. E. W. Smith.	10. Mme. Valšik.
11. K. P. Chattopadhyay.	11. H. G. Beasley.	11. Dr. J. A. Valšik.
12.	12. Prof. G. Thilenius.	12. Dr. F. Pospíšil.
13. Ven. Archdeacon G. T. Basden.	13. Prof. J. L. Myres.	13.
14.	14. Prof. T. Thomsen.	14. Rev. Prof. E. O. James.
15. Prof. D. R. Dow.	15. A. Digby.	15. Miss M. E. Bull.
	16. Jonkheer L. C. van Panhuys.	16.
	17. L. van Panhuys.	17. Prof. S. Sergi.
	18. Mme. van Panhuys-Coenders.	18.
	19. Prof. Sir G. Elliot Smith.	
	20. Prof. H. J. Fleure.	



A	B	C
16. Dr. W. F. Harper. 17. H. J. Braunholtz. 18. Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantha- krishna Iyer. 19. Dr. H. S. Harrison.	<i>Second Row.</i> 21. Miss I. van Raalte. 22. Miss N. M. Izzedin (?). 23. 24. Prof. H. Rushton Fairclough. 25. Prof. R. Vuia. 26. 27. Rev. J. W. Price. 28. W. van Panhuys. 29. Mlle. H. van Panhuys. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. Miss R. E. Digby. 40. 41. 42. Miss M. L. Tildesley. 43. Prof. B. Bonnerjea. 44. G. H. Tildesley. 45. Prof. V. G. Childe. 46. 47. <i>Third Row.</i> 48. 49. Dr. K. Birket-Smith. 50. Dr. E. Harms. 51. H. Coote Lake. 52. Dr. E. Hunt. 53. Prof. H. Laugier. 54. Prof. C. Goldstein. 55. Mme. Goldstein. 56. 57. Rev. H. Miller. 58. Dr. H. Münster. 59. E. R. Thomas. 60. 61. Prof. G. P. Frets. 62. 63. 64. Prof. G. Lindblom. 66. 67. 68. 69. Dr. M. Steggerda. 70. 71. <i>Fourth Row.</i> 72. O. F. Watkins. 73. Miss Coote Lake. 74. 75. 76. Dr. C. V. Martin. 77. P. C. Biswas. 78. 79. 80. Prof. O. Schluginhaufen. 81. Prof. A. C. G. da Silva Correia. 82. 83. Prof. W. Krauss. 84. Dr. E. Geyer. 85. Dr. H. Poll. 86. Prof. J. Weninger. 87. Dr. H. A. Gunther.	<i>Second Row.</i> 19. 20. 21. Rev. F. Kirschbaum. 22. 23. 24. Dr. M. Oka (?). 25. Dr. May M. Fleming. 26. 27. 28. Prof. L. A. Natesan. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. Mrs. Braunholtz. 34. Miss Borer. 35. Miss Karpeles. 36. 37. Dr. A. Mahr. 38. Prof. K. Stolyhwo. 39.  <i>Third Row.</i> 40. Dr. M. Steggerda. 41.   <i>Fourth Row.</i> 42. Rev. E. T. Wood. 43. 44. 45. Rev. H. J. Cooper. 46. 47. 48. Rev. J. Soulsby. 49. Prof. L. Ride. 50. 51. C. E. R. Clarabut. 52. Dr. G. Höltker. 53. A. Batrawi. 54. 55. 56. Rev. F. Kirschbaum. 57. 58. 59. 60. Prof. Dr. R. H. Thouless. 61. 62. 63. Dr. Lucy H. Ernst. 64. Major P. H. G. Powell-Cotton. 65. 66. 67. J. Kenyatta. 68. 69. 70. M. Dowouna. 71. Dr. Eugenja Stolyhwa.
<i>Second Row.</i> 20. 21. Miss K. R. Matheson. 22. Prof. K. R. Preuss. 23. Dr. T. L. Woo. 24. 25. Dr. C. O. Blagden. 26. Prof. R. Maunier. 27. 28. J. W. C. Rutherford. 29. 30. 31. 32. Prof. A. F. Dixon. 33. Prof. Dr. L. de Hoyos Sainz. 34. Mlle. de Hoyos Sainz. 35. Miss Hannay. 36. Miss I. van Raalte. 37. Miss N. M. Izzedin (?).		
<i>Third Row.</i> 38. 39. Trevor Thomas. 40. 41. Capt. St. J. Eyre-Smith. 42. Mrs. Eyre-Smith. 43. 44. 45. Mme. Preuss. 46. Prof. R. Corso. 47. 48. 49. M. D. W. Jeffreys. 50. 51. Miss M. Lawrence. 52. 53. Prof. S. Alcobé y Nogué. 54. Dr. C. von Fürer- Haimendorf. 55. Dr. H. Ubbelohde-Doering. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. Dr. K. Birket-Smith.		

## REVIEWS.

**Man in India.** *Special Number for the First Session of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.* Edited by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C. Published at Ranchi, India. 8vo. Vol. XIV, 2. pp. 75-220. June, 1934. Price 2 rupees 8 annas.

It is a graceful compliment, and will be widely appreciated by the learned Editor's colleagues everywhere, to celebrate the new International Congress by the publication of a Special Number of *Man in India*, with an announcement of the Congress itself on the cover. And the contents are worthy of the occasion, being an instalment of the Editor's own matured views on the central problem of *Caste, Race and Religion in India*.

A previous article had set aside the orthodox Hindu theory of the divine or natural origin of the *Varna* divisions of the population, and surveyed the theories of Nesfield, Ibbetson, Risley, Senart, Slatyer, Ketkar and Gait, and the syncretist interpretation of Hutton, combining his own suggestion of a local origin for the occupational taboo, with elements derived from his predecessors. Roy now proceeds to criticize these theories, briefly but acutely (pp. 75 ff.) devoting, naturally, especial attention to the views of Dr. J. H. Hutton which credit the Aryan immigrants with merely describing "in terms of an intensive Indo-Aryan society a social system really based on pre-existing conditions."

Like all pre-Aryan theories of caste-origins, Hutton has laid special stress on pre-Dravidian taboo on food and marriage, based on a fear of the evil *mana* of strangers. So this conception of *mana* itself has to be considered as a previous question (p. 105-7). Such 'Pre-Dravidian' notions, however, had not (apparently) developed caste-divisions elsewhere, and further search must be made. Among the Mongoloid tribes, notions similar to the *mana* of Oceania occur (p. 112), and again among Indonesians and Melanesians; but without caste-institutions (p. 115-9). In Polynesia, there is *mana* in typical manifestation, and there are also social classes; but the classes of the Polynesians are not the same as the 'castes' of India (p. 128); and Hindu belief in a "transmissible psychic power in 'man'" is (Roy contends) quite different from Polynesian *mana* (p. 131). For *mana* among Dravidians, direct evidence is of course lacking for pre-Aryan times, but though survivals indicate that there was such a notion, it seems to be unconnected with social distinctions such as caste. And the same holds of 'Indian Alpine' peoples (p. 155). The Buddhist *iddhi*, and Mohammedan *baraka*, Roy examines with the same negative result (p. 167) and finally the Jewish notions which have been in part transmitted into the Christian conception of personal 'holiness.'

With the Zoroastrian ideas of personal purity he comes to something more nearly akin to the principle underlying caste-divisions (p. 173-8) and thus Roy brings us round to the Vedic Aryan's

conception of a "mysterious supernatural power" of the same nature as *mana*, expressed (according to some), by the word *brahma*, which Pargiter had long ago considered to express something akin to *mana*, and also to be that quality in virtue of which the Brahman caste claimed, or were accorded, their superior position. If, as Haug and others suppose, *brahma* is connected with the root *brih* 'to grow,' 'to be strong,' this analogy certainly deserves close attention, especially in connexion with the Hindu philosophic notion of *gunas* or fundamental qualities, which further determine the *varna* or social class, determined by 'description' as the word itself implies (*varni*, 'to describe'). There would therefore not seem to be reason for looking beyond the Aryan outlook on the world and mankind for the *mana*-like principle which Hutton's explanation of caste presupposes. As Roy modestly says in conclusion, "with regard to matters involving Indian social psychology, perhaps the Indian student, who has the advantage of studying the question from inside, possesses better opportunities of probing the inner consciousness of his own Indian society, and, perchance, of approaching a little closer to a right solution of the origins of caste."

J. L. M.

**Man and the Vertebrates.** By A. S. Romer. The University of Chicago Press, 1933. 9 x 6. vii + 427 pp., illustrated. Price 13s. 6d.

Dr. Romer is Professor of Vertebrate Paleontology in the University of Chicago. More than half this book consists of an extraordinarily good account of the paleontology of vertebrates from their origin up to the Primates. It is unusually well illustrated, and especially valuable to the novice are the abundant pictures of restorations of extinct forms which enable him to visualize them far more readily than the bare outlines of their skeletal remains. There follows a brief account of the structure of the human body from the comparative point of view, couched in simple language which will be intelligible to those who have no special knowledge of anatomy or physiology. The chapter on human races is less satisfactory for the reason that it gives expression to rather unorthodox views which are not readily acceptable. This chapter should either be amplified with detailed reasons for the views which are put forward, or else it should be confined to a summary of the most generally acknowledged conclusions relating to racial relationships. The book is remarkably free of misprints except for one glaring instance where (on page 222) the jaws of *Parapithecus* and *Propliopithecus* are transposed.

W. E. LE GROS CLARK.

**The Anatomy of the Rhesus Monkey.** Edited by C. G. Hartman and W. L. Straus, Jr. London: Baillière, Tindall and Cox, 1933. 9 x 6, ix + 383 pp., 128 figs. Price 27s.

This book consists of a detailed account of the whole of the anatomy of one of the commonest monkeys, *Macaca mulatta*, by 19 authors. Since this animal is so frequently used in laboratory work, such a text-book will be found invaluable to a great number of experimental workers. There is an important appendix dealing with the care and maintenance of

the monkeys. From the point of view of the comparative anatomist, also, this book serves a very useful purpose, for the straightforward account of structure is accompanied by many comparative notes. It is to be hoped that similar studies of other well-known mammalian 'types' will be carried out in the future to the benefit of the anatomist, physiologist and anthropologist. The book is splendidly produced, and profusely illustrated with extremely good and clear figures.

W. E. LÉ GROS CLARK.

**The Lummi Indians of North-West Washington.**  
By Bernhard J. Stern. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. 127 pp., with 5 plates and a map. **187**

This dissertation confines itself to the ethnology of an Indian tribe speaking a Salish dialect and now settled on a reservation near the Canadian border. They formerly occupied also the shores of the San Juan Islands

in Puget Sound. The elements of their culture show many similarities to those of the British Columbia coastal Indians. Their food was obtained by fishing, hunting and plant gathering (bulbs and berries). In winter they lived in large communities in permanent plank houses and in summer used temporary huts made of mats. They wove baskets, blankets, clothes and nets, tanned hides, made canoes, and wooden chests.

The three parts into which the book is divided deal respectively with the cycle of life (birth, puberty, marriage, the household, death), tribal culture (getting food, tribal distinctions, potlatches, magic and the secret society, weaving and woodworking) and legend and lore (the origin of fire, of the deer and of false clams, the land of the dead, etc.). The records were obtained from old men of the tribe during the years 1928-29. In some respects their culture is less developed than that of the coastal Indians farther north, although the near relationships are evident.

R. R. G.

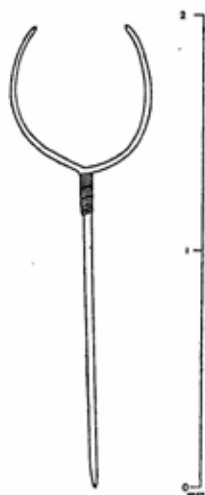
## CORRESPONDENCE.

### Tribal Heirlooms among the Wabena of the Ulanga Valley.

SIR,—The chiefs ruling over the Wabena of the Ulanga Valley, Tanganyika Territory, a tribe which migrated eastwards into the valley from the highlands round Njombe about sixty years ago, are descended from one Manga, who is eight generations distant from the present chief. Manga and two brothers, alleged to have been the sons of a 'white man,' are said to have come on a hunting expedition into the highlands from the lower country to the eastward. The brothers quarrelled and separated. One, Ngwira, returned to the low country and is the ancestor of the Vidunda chiefs. The second, Musinga, married the daughter of a petty chief in the highlands and is the ancestor of the great Hehe chiefs. Manga made a similar marriage and he, too, founded a dynasty in the highlands to the south of Musinga's country. With him, apparently, went the family heirlooms, a sacred drum and certain iron objects (fig. 1) still treasured by his descendants who say their 'brothers' the Hehe chiefs have wooden copies of the latter.

We hope to describe elsewhere the Bena chief's shrine or spirit-house in which the heirlooms are housed, and all the ritual and regulations connected with it. Only two white men have ever been admitted to it: the first had the temerity and lack of courtesy to beat the sacred drum, and in four days he was dead!

These notes are written simply with the object of drawing attention to the curious iron heirlooms, whose origin and possible uses are a mystery to the people who possess them. We have met nothing remotely resembling them among any of the neighbouring tribes, nor have we as yet seen similar objects in a museum. Whence did the immigrant ancestor bring them? The prongs are circular in cross-section, while the ornamentation at their base resembles lashings and



TRIBAL HEIRLOOM.

FIG. 1.  
ing attention to the curious iron heirlooms, whose origin and possible uses are a mystery to the people who possess them. We have met nothing remotely resembling them among any of the neighbouring tribes, nor have we as yet seen similar objects in a museum. Whence did the immigrant ancestor bring them? The prongs are circular in cross-section, while the ornamentation at their base resembles lashings and

seems to suggest an earlier composite form. Can anyone tell us where similar objects are known?

A. T. CULWICK,  
G. M. CULWICK.

### Egyptian Slate Palette (cf. MAN, 1934, 144: Correction).

SIR,—My paper contained the statement, familiar to students of Egyptian Prehistory, which I quoted on the authority of Elliot-Smith's *Ancient Egyptians*, that the Gerenuk (Waller's Gazelle) and the (Ground) Hornbill, which are supposed to be represented on the palette, are peculiar to Abyssinia and Somaliland.

Mr. Henry Balfour informs me that both creatures have a much wider distribution; but the regions named remain the nearest to Egypt, and the correction does not otherwise affect the issues of the paper.

Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. ERNEST S. THOMAS.

### Baubo-Phryne.

SIR,—I write to correct some inaccuracies of detail in the interesting article of Miss Murray on *Female Fertility Figures* (*J.R.A.I.*, lxiv, p. 95). In speaking of Baubo, she says that her legend is known "only through the Greek accounts," that she "made Isis laugh and cease from lamenting," that her Egyptian origin is "accepted by classical scholars, who equate Baubo-Phryne (Frog-Baubo) with the frog-goddess of birth Heqt." For none of these statements save the first can I find any authority at all.

Baubo seems to be a purely Orphic figure, and therefore has nothing to do with Egypt. In the Orphic version of the legend of Demeter, it is said that when Demeter came to Eleusis, Baubo received her hospitably and, being grieved to see her sorrowful and unwilling to take any refreshment, made her laugh with the ritual gesture which is illustrated in the figures shown by Miss Murray. That any such performance went on at Eleusis in reality would be a rash assumption, though it is possible. In the ordinary Eleusinian legend, as given, for instance, in the 'Homeric' Hymn to Demeter, the goddess's hostess is called Metaneira and the laughter is occasioned by the jests of a maid, Iambe. The name Baubo has Greek cognates and is even used as a common noun in the sense of 'womb'—see the lexica. It is never written Babo save in mediæval Greek, where it would be pronounced Vavó whichever way it was spelled. I know of no passage in which Baubo is in any way associated with Isis, even in those legends in which the

equation of Isis with Demeter is most patent. Consequently, 'classical scholars' in general do not suppose that Baubo has an Egyptian origin, whatever flights of fancy may have been indulged in by those who in ancient or modern times have supposed that the Eleusinian mysteries came from that country, a theory now generally and deservedly abandoned. Nor does any such figure as Baubo-Phryne exist. Phryne, which, by the way, means 'toad,' not 'frog,' is nowhere found as the proper name of anyone save a mortal woman, the celebrated courtesan whom Hyperoides defended (fourth century B.C.). The nearest approach to it is the title Phryne (*Φρύνη*), found, along with Baubo, as an epithet of Hekate in the great Paris magical papyrus (No. I in Preisendanz' *Papyri graecae magicae*), line 2715. Here it is conceivable that the late and unknown author of the versified invocation in which the names occur had Heqt in mind, for the papyrus comes from Egypt and the jingle Heqt-Hekate would be enough to produce a popular etymology, despite the lack of any real connection between the names. But for Greek of any classical epoch, or written in Greece itself, no such connection seems to occur.

H. J. ROSE.

## Hoe-blade hafting.

**191** SIE.—In his interesting paper published in MAN, (Vol. XXXII, May, 1932, No. 137), Mr. F. J. Richards describes the various types of axes and adzes prevalent in South India and the methods of hafting them.



FIG. 1.

A very simple type of a hoe with a hafting device of its own, different from the 'holed butt' and the 'holed haft' methods, is in common use in parts of Mysore

State. There is no such process of hafting as is generally understood by the term—this peculiar result being achieved by taking a forked branch, cutting it a little below the fork, and fixing a blade on to the free end of the thinner of the branches (see fig. 1).

In the hafting of hoes, the blade is, as a rule, fixed into the haft at a suitable angle, but in this type the angle is formed not by the blade, but by the forking branch—the angle being about 45 degrees. The angle being thus provided, all that remains is to make the thinner of the two branches spread out, as it were, into a blade at the end. This is done by fixing on to the blade a socket which would receive the forked branch.

A flat piece of iron about  $5 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$  is cut at the sides about the middle so as to give it a 'waist'; the lower end is beaten out to fan-shape, and the flanges above the hip are bent together to form an elongated socket (see fig. 2). Through the fan-shaped end, three stout rivets are driven so as to securely fasten the socket to the blade. We now have the blade fitted up with a projecting socket. When the thinner of the forking branches is tightly inserted into the socket, the implement is complete. No nail is used in the process.

This primitive method of making an analogue to a hafted implement being an undoubted survival from prehistoric days, has its lessons in the technology of South Indian Prehistoric tools. It serves to throw light on the method of the Iron Age blades discovered by Mr. Bruce Foote on the Shevaroyes, supporting the view expressed by Mr. Richards that these blades were really adzes or hoes, and could not have been axe blades as Mr. Bruce Foote took them to be. As Mr. Richards observes, "the position of the iron bands suggests that they were used for attachment to a forked-stick handle, adze-wise," which were apparently kept in position by stout wedges driven between the iron bands and the stick handle.

It is interesting to compare this type of hoe with the hoe blade reported from Africa, illustrated in (MAN, Vol. XXXIII, December, 1933, No. 220). The latter is comparatively longer with an elongated tang which ends in a socket very similar to the socket in the Mysore hoe, with the difference that instead of the socket being formed by a separate attachment riveted to the blade, in the African specimen the blade and the socket are all formed of one single sheet of iron, cut away so as to provide a tang ending in a socket. The form of the socket leaves little doubt that the hoe was inserted at the end of a forked stick, much as is done in the hoe blade from Mysore.

M. D. RAGHAVAN.

Congress: cf. MAN, 1934, 164.

**192** The Editor regrets that by inadvertence the communication of Prof. Otto Schläpfer, of Zurich, *Die Stellung der Kleinwüchsen Frau von Eglswil zur aussereuropäischen menschenrassen* was omitted from the report of Section Aa.

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Prehistoric Antiquities—Notes on Ages and Distribution*, 1916, p. 63.







SAME AS FIG. 4 IN "MAN," 1931, 261.



FIG. 4. (A). REAR VIEW.



FIG. 15. DARK BRONZE FIGURE OF ELEPHANT



SAME AS FIG. 6 IN "MAN," 1931, 261.

# GABI FIGURES FROM JEBBA AND TADA, MIDDLE NIGER

*Photographs by Mr. S. W. Walker.*

# MAN

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NOVEMBER, 1934

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

#### Nigeria.

With Plate L.

Walker.

**Gabi Figures and Edegi, First King of the Nupé.** By S. W. Walker, District Officer, Ilorin Emirate, Nigeria.

In MAN, 1931, 261, Sir H. R. Palmer published an account of certain "representations of deities cast in metal . . . in the region round Jebba and Rába on the Middle Niger." I have recently had an opportunity of seeing these figures, and a fuller account of them may be of interest. For ease of reference the same numbers will be used as in Sir H. R. Palmer's article.

2. The two Jebba figures (Plate M 1, 2, 3) are well known and stand almost unprotected in the midst of the village on Jebba island, close by a dilapidated hut, alleged to be consecrated to their worship. The photographs accompanying the above-mentioned article are clear, and no further description is here necessary other than certain observations which a comparison with the other figures evokes.

3. The other photographs (Plate M 4, 5, 6, 7, 8) show four of seven figures at Tada, a small Nupé fishing village on the high bank of a backwater of the Niger, some 25 miles east of Jebba and some five north of Shonga. They are kept in a round hut and, unlike the Jebba figures, are carefully tended. They are taken out and scoured every Friday, and the floor is thickly spread with clean white river sand.

4. The most noticeable figure is one of dark bronze, 3 feet 8 inches high, bearing a general resemblance to the male figure at Jebba, both in technique, decorative treatment and conventional form. Its head dress consists of what appears to be a tight-fitting helmet, from which hang five coils reaching to the waist. To the front and rear of the helmet are attached medallions which bear the device illustrated in fig. 9, consisting of a horned and mustachioed face, surrounded by an interlacing design. Each medallion is surmounted by a crest behind which are models of birds as in fig. 10. The close-fitting gown reaches below the knees and is richly decorated with designs in low relief as in figs. 11 and 12. Round the neck hang a tasselled stole, a necklace and a chain bearing another medallion as in fig. 13. The design on the latter consists of a ramlike head surrounded by three birds which suggest the lesser hornbill.

5. Though the similarity of this figure to the male figure at Jebba is obvious, the differences are interesting. The quilted attire of the Jebba figure, with its dagger in front and quiver slung at the back, indicates a warrior in the act of drawing a bow, while the rich and perhaps magic ornamentation of the Tada figure may conceivably suggest a king, priest or civil official. The helmet of the former, like that of the latter, bears a medallion, but smaller, and decorated with the figure of a long-beaked bird similar to fig. 11. The top of the helmet is covered by what is now a tangled mass of bronze wire or 'shavings,' which, like the coils of the Tada figure, might be thought representations of hair, were it not for the fact that they appear attached to the cap or helmet.

6. Another of the dark bronze figures is of an elephant of somewhat slender body and long legs. It has a ridge along the back and is 2 feet high (Plate L, fig. 15).

7. The two remaining figures of dark bronze (Plate M 5) are of ostriches, 4 feet 4 inches and 3 feet 6 inches high respectively. Each has a curious plate on the back suggestive of a tortoise shell, only flatter.

8. Then, there are two figures which in appearance seem to be cast out of pure copper. One is 1 foot 10 inches high, and represents a man standing with clasped hands. A small pigtail adorns the head, the eyes are very bulging, and the feet very big. The other (Plate M 6) is a remarkably realistic bit of modelling, and is as noticeable for this quality as No. 4 is for its formal decorative treatment.

9. There remains one small figure (Plate M 7, 8), 1 foot 4 inches high, apparently of pure brass. It is of a male figure of ungainly proportions and coarse features, holding a crook and wearing an apron. In addition, a small cotton cloth is tied round its loins.

10. No. 4 is very heavy, due probably to the fact that the clay core is still within the figure. The others are light and hollow. All are or have at one time been on shallow rectangular bases.

11. The first thing that strikes one about the figures as a whole is the difference in the material of which they are cast. All of them appear to be made by the *cire perdue* process. But, as has been indicated above, four are of dark bronze, two appear to be of pure copper, and one of brass. Only the three last-named are kept scoured. Another striking feature is the divergence of technique. It is impossible to think that there are less than three sources for these figures, not because of the difference in metal used but on account of the wide difference in treatment—unless, of course, they are copies of originals. However this may be, the designs on Plate M 2, 3, 4 are so distinctive and conventionalized that they must have had antecedents, and it is to be hoped that this article may have given sufficient data by which their origin can be traced.

12. The Village Head of Tada tells the following legend. The Chief of Atagara had a son called Shode who was a successful hunter but could not find a market for his meat. At that time the chief of a certain town called Wanta had a girl in his household whom he gave to Shode to cook the meat of the animals he killed. After a time she became with child by Shode. When he was about to return to his home, he brought her a charm and a loin cloth and told her to give them to her son when he was born, for a son it would be. Shortly after he had returned home, his father, the chief of Atagara, died and he succeeded to the chieftdom. Now, in those times when a new chief was installed, each town brought slaves, and it happened that this child Edegi, which the girl bore to Shode, was amongst them on this occasion. When the chief, Shode, saw Edegi, he recognized him by the charm and loin cloth, promoted him to honour and showed him much affection. Shortly before his death he called Edegi and told him that after his death he should gather all his property together and leave the country. At this the townspeople rose up in jealousy, but Edegi escaped and travelled up the Niger with his loaded canoes till he came to the neighbourhood of Bida. There he abandoned chains because of their weight and passed on to Tafa in Bida territory, then to Tada, Gbere and Jebba, at each of which places he left either chains or ornamental figures. He got as far as Kwatashi in Bussa, and then returned or was driven back. His boat and poles were of bronze. They lie in the Ega river close to Muregi. Edegi sank himself and the boat because he could not elude his enemies. He was the first chief of the Nupé.<sup>1</sup>

13. The information given in this account suggested further inquiry at Gbere, 15 miles east of Jebba, opposite Rába, the only one of the above-mentioned places that is situated in Ilorin Province. Owing to the phenomenal floods it was not possible to reach the village itself, but the chains were brought to Tada for inspection. There are five of them, measuring 33 feet 6 inches, 20 feet, 23 feet, 8 feet 8 inches and 7 feet 2 inches respectively, and all are much corroded. The links vary from 3 inches to 6 inches in length and are rectangular in shape. At the end of one chain is a circular link. The weight of all the chains is about 20 lbs.

14. The Ndeji and the Wangwa of Gbere say that the chains were used in pre-British days for strangling criminals. Executions were carried out in the bush by the Cheche assisted by three youths. The present Cheche who looks after the chains has not seen an execution, but the Ndeji

<sup>1</sup> Note.—According to the Bussa legend, Edegi was chief of Gbere. He came up the river as far as Kwatashi, and encamped on the east bank of the Niger. Sarkin Wawa sent to warn him that he was not destined to become ruler of this region and if he stayed death would be his portion. It was then low water, and Edegi walked

out to a large rock to receive the Wawa envoys.

When he heard their message he laid a curse upon the rock that any canoe that came near it would sink and any man that touched it would die. Edegi then departed down stream, but the rock remains and is still called Dutsin Edegi.



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.

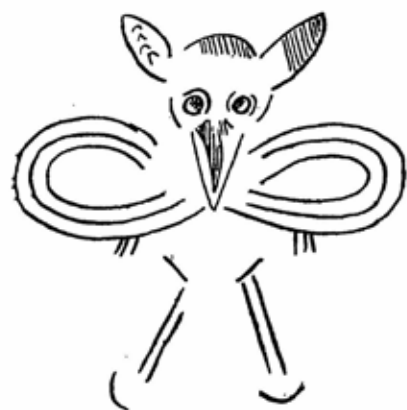


FIG. 11.



FIG. 12.

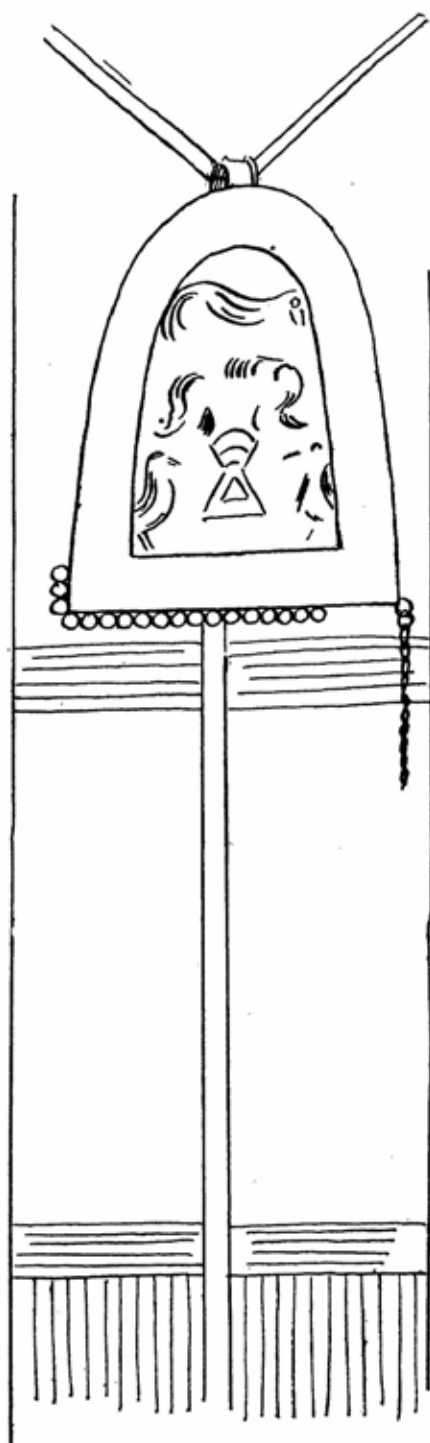


FIG. 13.

and Wangwa claim to have done so. They state the chains were wound several times round the neck of the victim and the ends drawn tight till he was strangled.

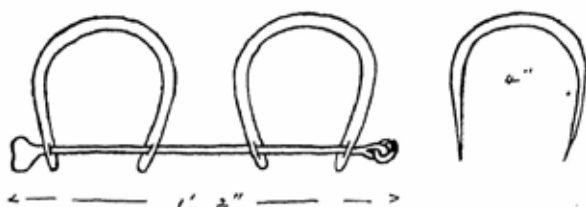


FIG. 14.

of relics will hardly assist us in coming to definite conclusions about the nature of this incident or in understanding how Edegi came to found the Nupé state. But it provides interesting material for speculation.

15. Besides the chains there were three pairs of manacles as in fig. 14, staple and neck collar.

16. Edegi's expedition or flight, whichever the case may be, is a well-known historical fact and, in the "Notes on the Tribes, Provinces, Emirates and States of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria," compiled by Mrs. Temple, it is said to have taken place about 1505. A study of this curiously assorted group

S. W. WALKER.

### Africa: Bride-Wealth.

Evans-Pritchard.

Social Character of Bride-Wealth, with Special Reference to the Azande.<sup>1</sup> By E. E. Evans-Pritchard.

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This paper presents an index of problems and develops an approach to them. In so far as the action of bride-wealth is restricted to marriage relations it may be regarded as a technique for creating new social relations of durability and frequency between persons. It is the mechanism by which the marriage group comes into being. The marriage group is a real and not an abstract group since it comprises a number of people who have actual reciprocal inter-relations defined by custom. These are not only a man and his wife, but also their kindred. It is distinct from the family group which is made up of the inter-relations between a man, his wife, and their children.

Bride-wealth has everywhere an economic value. Among the Azande it consists of a variety of iron tools, and these may be consumed technologically, spears for hunting, hoes for cultivating, etc., or in exchange of a simple economic type, e.g., for beer, meat, etc., or of a ceremonial type, e.g., for beer at mortuary ceremonies. Among Nilotes bride-wealth consists of cows, which have many economic uses, e.g., provision of milk. Because bride-wealth has productive and exchange value we must not argue that its psychology is similar to the psychology of purchase in our own culture, an argument which has only to be stated for its absurdity to be acknowledged by everyone. We shall find it more profitable to compare the sociology of bride-wealth in Africa with other economic techniques in the same culture areas and to give special attention to those societies which have had long contact with the economic system and ideology of Europe and in which polygyny has disappeared. For marriage relations are not the only ones expressed in payments. The relations between chief and commoner, between father and son, between a lover and his sweetheart, to mention only three Zande examples, all employ technique of gifts or payments which define the relations between the persons concerned and enable them to foresee the behaviour of one another in given situations since the payments evoke the behaviour. A full study of bride-wealth must treat it as one of a number of techniques which employ wealth by gift or payment as a means of establishing, defining, expressing, and evoking social behaviour.

Generally the persons who receive bride-wealth on the marriage of a girl are expected to contribute towards the marriage of her brother. But the right to receive is more clearly defined and backed by weightier sanctions than the obligation to contribute, and it is to those among whom bride-wealth is distributed that I refer when I speak of the bride-wealth grouping. It is useful to know the range of this grouping at the commencement of fieldwork investigation because it gives us an immediate indication of the importance, or otherwise, of kinship structure in any society. The grouping may consist of the father of the girl alone, as in Zande society, or of the father and his kin, or of the father, his kin, and his affines. It is important to remember that bride-wealth is distributed in virtue of kinship and affinity obligations and that it is the relations between a man and his brothers or wife's brothers

<sup>1</sup> A summary of a communication read at the Leicester meeting of the British Association, 1933.



that is being expressed. The distribution is generally, and I think erroneously, treated as though it were primarily a recognition of the relationship between a girl and her paternal and maternal uncles.

When we say that wealth is handed over in marriage we must bear in mind that marriage is a complicated system of inter-relations which operate over a long period. Among the Azande bride-wealth is paid from time to time over a number of years previous to the formation of a new household and is paid afterwards during the whole history of the new family which comes into being as a result of the establishment of marriage relations. Being a recognition of social status and a technique for evoking patterns of behaviour it has to be paid during the whole history of the status as expressed in these behaviour-patterns. This repeated payment of bride-wealth may be obscured among pastoralists, but its presence is revealed by the statements of cattle people themselves (*e.g.*, the Nuer) that while the wife fulfils her obligations to her husband's group the cattle are giving calves to the wife's group, and this is also formulated in rules of divorce. They declare furthermore that the wife's group receive only part of their daughter's bride-wealth on her union with her husband and that they will receive the rest on the marriage of her daughters. Among other peoples further instalments are paid on the birth of daughters (*e.g.*, among the Fadjelu [Whitehead]), and there are other occasions on which it is customary to make further payments, *e.g.*, on leviratic marriage. Among the Azande this repeated action of bride-wealth is more apparent, and we can trace it from the birth of a baby girl to the conclusion of her marriage. At first it is a marriage in embryo, and as it matures the payment of bride-wealth and all the other customary observances between members of a marriage group become more pronounced. If one of the partners to the union dies the new social tissues which have grown are not severed. If the husband dies the wife goes to live with one of his brothers, who continues to make occasional payments to his affines. If the wife dies her kin provide the bereaved husband with another girl, if possible her sister, and he will continue to pay bride-wealth. The levirate and sororate thus come into being as a means of maintaining marriage relations. If we want to understand the action of bride-wealth we must view its continued operation and not disregard it, as is so often done, from the moment a new family comes into existence.

Writers often remain insensible to its continued action because they view marriage relations as those which link husband and wife, whereas I understand the marriage group to comprise all the persons who have defined inter-relations in virtue of payment of bride-wealth. Not all these inter-relations can be treated here and I will restrict myself to a few observations about those between the husband and his affines. A man does not pay bride-wealth to his wife, and their patterns of behaviour in relation to one another conform to social norms which are only indirectly associated with the ideology of bride-wealth. He pays bride-wealth to his affines and his behaviour to them and their behaviour to him is directly evoked by the payment and his relations with them are generally expressed in terms of bride-wealth (bride-spears, bride-labour, etc.).

There is no necessary or constant correlation between the ideology of marriage and the psychology of the persons concerned. When a Zande speaks about marriage he expresses himself in terms of bride-wealth, *e.g.*, a girl says 'someone has paid spears to my father,' meaning 'I am married,' or a boy says 'I am a child of spears,' meaning 'I was born in wedlock.' We should be naïve to suppose that in consequence the maintenance of marriage relations is due to economic motives. Yet this assumption is at the basis of the assertion so often made that the function of bride-wealth is to stabilize marriage. The word 'function' carries no meaning in this context. Is it true, moreover, that the relations between husband and wife persist through what amounts to economic blackmail? No evidence is adduced to justify belief in a functional relationship between the amount of bride-wealth paid to the bride's group and the durability of her union with her husband. No one would deny that the difficulty of returning a very large amount of wealth may be a motive in the pressure which the parents of a girl bring to bear on her to remain with her husband, but it is a hopeless distortion of social realities to regard this as an explanation of bride-wealth. It is pertinent to point out that among the Azande by the time a large amount of wealth has been handed over there is seldom any doubt about the stability of the union and the wealth is, in fact, an accumulated recognition of its stability. Moreover, as soon as a female child has been born, divorce no longer entails return of bride-wealth so that this particular motive can have no sense. This point of view

also neglects the fact that the relations between husband and wife are not of primary importance, and that the stability of marriage rests on the goodwill of a man's father-in-law or brothers-in-law. I may add that a disagreement often arises over payment of bride-wealth and that divorce frequently takes place in consequence, although the relations between husband and wife are amicable. The stability of their relations is not precariously dependent upon the difficulty of paying back bride-wealth, a difficulty which is not great during the first years of marriage. Nor are marriage and divorce simply a matter of receiving and paying back spears or cattle, though they may well become such when European currency and exchange are introduced. Indeed, it is evident that the stability of the family is not really a function of economic motives, but of moral and legal norms, from present-day conditions in Zandeland, for, in spite of payments, divorce is rife. It is morals that censure divorce and law that refuses to recognize grounds for divorce which ensure the stability of the union of husband and wife. It derives its stability from the restraint imposed by law and morals and not from economic blackmail. In the past Azande regarded marriage as an indissoluble union between man and wife, and as unseverable relations between their affines, and divorce was allowed only for a flagrant breach of obligation on the part of the husband towards his wife's father or brothers. Mr. Torday has stated that the same was true of the whole of Bantu culture.

Another statement frequently advanced about bride-wealth is that it overcomes the hostility of the bride's parents towards the man who is taking their daughter away from them. No evidence is brought forward to support this assertion, and we might hold that the contrary is true and that the real danger to the union of husband and wife is not the hostility of the wife's family, but the intimacy which frequent contact and kinship ties might bring about. Hostility and opposition are created by bride-wealth and by a whole range of taboos like mother-in-law avoidance, and patterns of behaviour like the pattern of submissiveness which the husband has to enact, for these establish new relations which are characterized by opposition and necessitate estranged and distant inter-communications. In so far as this leads to evident ill-feeling it is deflected on to the bride-wealth in the ideology of which it is expressed and it can be allayed by further payments. Husband and wife are segregated from the wife's relatives until family ties are established, and it is only after the birth of children that these customs which keep the wife's family at a distance are allowed to lapse.

Leaving psychological explanations aside—I doubt whether they help us very much—we can examine the manner in which bride-wealth evokes social behaviour. As soon as it has been paid, the reciprocal behaviour of the persons concerned ceases to be fortuitous and unforeseeable, but becomes defined and known in advance. In its operation throughout the history of marriage relations we can study its complicated action in compelling both groups to carry out their obligations. There is not a preliminary payment in virtue of which obligations are carried out ever afterwards, but these are evoked as occasion demands by new payments. Instead of bride-wealth having the character of a single contract there is constant redocumentation by payments throughout marriage.

A further aspect of bride-wealth must be mentioned. In so far as it is a technique for establishing social relations it is not essential that it should be consumed in any particular manner for it to have this social action. But, in point of fact, it is often held that it should be used by the people who receive it to obtain a wife and in so far as it is used for this purpose it becomes a symbol which stands for the value of a wife in the context of marriage. Every society forbids marriage between certain relatives and most primitive societies provide social machinery which enables a man to obtain a mate outside the forbidden circle. In many societies this is done by preferential mating by which mates are selected within the kinship structure and by virtue of the kinship structure. The number of possible mates is thereby limited, and social relations become variations of a single type, or have a narrow sphere in which kinship structure is dominant. When marriage relations are established outside the kindred the number of possible mates is increased and new social relations are established which are of a type independent of kinship structure and which tend, indeed, to break down its exclusive control. New social relations, especially political relations, become possible. Bride-wealth and rules of exogamy are therefore functions of one another, and form an interdependent system. Rules of exogamy depend on machinery for marriage outside the

tabooed circle, and the efficacy of the machinery of bride-wealth depends on rules of exogamy. The simplest and most direct way of obtaining a wife other than in virtue of kinship status, is sister-exchange, but this is a cumbersome method because it necessitates that the two women shall have about the same qualifications. Bride-wealth provides a far more flexible mechanism for effecting exchange of women than either sister-exchange or preferential mating. Bride-wealth may be paid in preferential marriages in a society where both exist side by side (*e.g.*, among the Hehe [Brown]) and this fact poses further problems which I hope to discuss elsewhere.

All these methods are based on a principle of equivalence—in return for a wife you receive a wife. By equating the value of a wife with a form of wealth, greater freedom and plasticity in social relations are possible. Hence, to understand the action of bride-wealth we must not restrict our attention to a single marriage group, but must consider its transference in two marriage groups. Among Azande, group A give spears to group B in return for a wife. Group B pass these spears on to group C and obtain a wife. Neither group A nor group B now possess the spears, but each has lost a daughter and obtained a wife. There is an indirect exchange in which spears stand in the context of marriage for the value of a wife. Among the Azande the full cycle of equivalence is not considered to be complete until a female child is born of the marriage. When the wife group A have received from group B gives birth to a female child, then they know that on the marriage of this child they will receive back an equivalent number of spears to those which they paid on the marriage of the mother. So the full cycle means that each group receives wives in exchange for its daughters, and daughters in exchange for its spears. This cycle is recognised in Zande law, for on the birth of a female child all liability to return spears in event of divorce ceases, and if no female child is born, a male child can make his maternal uncle provide him with spears to marry with in the place of those he would have received on the marriage of his sister had he had one.

E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.

#### Britain: Archaeology.

Upper Palaeolithic Pottery from Ipswich and Swanscombe. By J. P. T. Burchell and J. Reid Moir.



Scale:—2 : 1

FIG. 1. FRAGMENT OF ORNAMENTAL POTTERY FROM BASE OF SUB-AERIAL BRICK-EARTH, INGRESS VALE, SWANSCOMBE, KENT.

(On view in Ipswich Museum.)

There appeared in MAN for February, 1933, 30, a summary of our respective researches carried out in East Anglia and in the valley of the Lower Thames. In the part of our note relating to Upper Palaeolithic times we recorded the discovery, in stratified deposits, both at Ipswich<sup>1</sup> and at Swanscombe,<sup>2</sup> of fragments of pottery associated with flint implements of what we regard as Upper Palaeolithic types. During May and June of last year, 1933, a loan exhibition was held at the British Museum, Bloomsbury,<sup>3</sup> of the archaeological specimens obtained by one of us (J. P. T. B.) in the Lower Thames Valley.

Among the exhibits were the fragments of unornamented pottery (six in all) which had been excavated from the four test sections situated in Ingress Vale and covering a distance of 200 yards from Knockhall House orchard eastwards. It should be mentioned that the valley is some three-quarters of a mile long, and that the 'floor' yielding the pottery and implements is situated at a uniform depth of about 12 feet from the surface beneath three distinct strata: surface soil to 2 feet, stony loam containing 'rafts' of Coombe Rock to 6 feet 6 inches, sub-aerial brick-earth to 3 feet 6 inches. The sequence of the deposits in the central portion of the valley underlying the 'floor' is, it appears, sub-aerial brick-earth to 3 feet, brick-earth and gravel of the '50-foot' terrace of Middle

<sup>1</sup> Moir, J. Reid: *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1917, Vol. XLVII, pp. 367-412; *Proc. Preh. Soc. East Anglia*, 1927, Vol. V, Pt. 2, pp. 232-252.

<sup>2</sup> Burchell, J. P. T.: *Archæologia*, 1933, Vol. LXXXIII, pp. 67-92.

<sup>3</sup> *Nature*, 1933, 27th May, p. 756.

Mousterian times to 3 feet, coarse melt-water gravel of the Coombe Rock glaciation to 1 foot 6 inches, Coombe Rock to 6 feet, Chalk.

Immediately west of Knockhall House orchard, the valley takes an abrupt bend to the south, and here, as the result of laying a set of rails to an extension of the chalk pit, a cross-section of the valley has been revealed. As may be noticed in the photograph (Fig. 2), the immediate area has suffered considerable artificial disturbance, whilst, in addition, the deposits have been removed to within a few inches of the base of the younger sub-aerial brick-earth.

When walking past this section, many months ago, one of us (J. P. T. B.) noticed two fragments of pottery protruding from the face of what remained of the sub-aerial brick-earth at about two inches



FIG. 2. SECTION ACROSS IN-FILLED VALLEY, WEST OF KNOCKHALL HOUSE ORCHARD, INGRESS VALE.

(7) Surface-soil, 2 feet; (6) Stony loam, 6 feet; (5) Sub-aerial brickearth, 3 feet; (4) Brickearth of Crayford Series; (3) Gravel composed chiefly of Tertiary pebbles; (2) Chalk rubble; (1) Chalk. The area enclosed by black line and marked with a X is modern slip, at the base of which there is a thin layer of coal and clinker. The ornamented pottery-fragment was found immediately under the hat and opposite the arrow. The arrow marks width of ledge cleared by the workmen. It is more than likely that the area of slipped material, with coal at base, formerly extended over the ledge. The base of the slipped material coincides with the horizon upon which the hat rests.

below the existing surface-level. A few unrolled and unpatinated flakes similar to those from the test sites further down the valley were recovered from the same spot. One of the pieces of pottery seemed to show ornamentation, and both fragments were included in the exhibition at the British Museum. The decorated sherd has now been cleaned so that the pattern is clearly discernible (see fig. 1), and certain authorities, judging chiefly by the type of decoration exhibited by the specimen, state that it belongs to the Bronze Age (Beaker period).

Subsequent visits to the site in question have resulted in the discovery of further pottery, in situ, in the sub-aerial brick-earth together with flint flakes, and these occur at the base of the deposit, as is usual in other parts of the valley where the 'floor' is clearly undisturbed.

In view of the fact that deposits amounting to some 10 feet in thickness had been removed from off the site by the workmen prior to our initial visit, we naturally do not feel justified in definitely precluding the possibility of the ornamented fragment being of the age suggested by the authorities mentioned. On the other hand, we cannot but entertain the notion that there may be another explanation of this matter, viz., that the piece of pottery in dispute belongs to the 'floor' discovered at the undisturbed sites in the valley, and is, therefore, of a long pre-Bronze Age antiquity.



In support of this suggestion, we would remark that Upper Palæolithic pottery would, in all probability, be composed of a coarse, gritty ware (as is most prehistoric pottery of a primitive type), and that, if ornamented, it might well exhibit the simple forms of decoration, such as, for example, occur upon certain vessels of the Early Bronze Age. As regards this suggestion, we may state that it is not founded upon speculation. Recent examination by us of the decorative motifs engraved on bone and ivory during Upper Palæolithic times has shown us that a considerable proportion of these can be accurately paralleled with those to be observed on Bronze Age and proto-historic objects found within the British Isles. So numerous and striking are these resemblances that we propose, at an early date, to prepare a paper dealing with them.

We may also state that lately there has been found in the Bean-Greenhithe valley, under 8 feet of brick-earth and stony loam, a piece of pottery with ornamentation different in design from that of the disputed specimen, and that, associated with the brick-earth, there is a Late Pleistocene molluscan fauna including *Helicella striata* (Müll.) in addition to a microtine fauna which has yet to be identified. Not only is this molluscan assemblage fundamentally dissimilar from that of the Neolithic and Early Bronze ages but, whereas the growth of the specimens of the former has been arrested, land-shells, during the Beaker Period, attained exceptionally large size. By way of conclusion it may be mentioned that a Committee has been formed which will publish its findings on the deposits in question and their contents. The Committee's report will be printed as an appendix, to the detailed paper to be written by one of us (J.P.T.B.) on the completion of the fieldwork.

#### MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE.

Professor P. G. H. Boswell, F.R.S.  
Dr. C. E. P. Brooks, F.R.Met.Soc.  
M. C. Burkitt, F.S.A.  
M. A. C. Hinton, F.R.S.  
A. S. Kennard, F.G.S., A.L.S.  
Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, F.S.A.

J. Reid Moir, F.R.A.I.  
Dr. K. S. Sandford, F.G.S.  
R. A. Smith, F.S.A.  
Dr. J. D. Solomon, F.G.S.  
Dr. G. Erdtman.  
H. Godwin, M.A., Ph.D.

Professor O. T. Jones, F.R.S., has been invited to serve on the Committee, but his absence from the country until October precludes an answer being supplied.

J. P. T. BURCHELL.  
J. REID MOIR.

#### Britain : Archaeology.

Note on Pottery from Swanscombe. By Stuart Piggott.

Piggott.

At the request of Mr. J. P. T. Burchell, I have examined the pottery from his excavations at Ingress Vale, and he has demonstrated to me the evidence, both geological and archaeological, on which his Upper Palæolithic dating for the pottery is based.

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The fragments of pottery derived from the test excavation, at a depth of 12 feet of brick-earth, are small undecorated scraps which do not show any features characteristic of any narrowly-defined period of culture. No more can be said of them, in fact, than that they are fragments of coarse pottery of prehistoric type. The decorated fragment, however, which Mr. Burchell found in a position which he equates with the base of the brick-earth in his test excavation, is decorated with somewhat carelessly executed lines in a hyphenated or notched technique. Owing to the smallness of the sherd, it is, in my opinion, not possible to be absolutely certain of the direction in which these lines run, but there is a probability (to judge from the curve and faint traces of 'wiping marks' inside) that the lines do not run horizontally as might be expected, but at an oblique angle.

Considering the finds solely as a student of pre-historic pottery (which is the only capacity in which I feel competent to make an archaeological statement of any value in this matter), the three sherds from the test section are undateable within any closer limits than 'prehistoric,' but the parallel which immediately suggests itself for the decorated fragment, among the known prehistoric wares of Britain, is that of the Early Bronze Age beakers.

Such a dating from typology alone is admissible when dealing with an unrelated casual find. But it is clear that, at Ingress Vale, the date of the sherds is dependent on their archaeological



associations, and the interpretations of the geological phenomena accompanying them. Associated flint implements, which Mr. Burchell has shown me, include no types characteristic of Neolithic or later flint industries, but do include two burins suggesting an Upper Palæolithic or at latest Mesolithic facies for the assemblage.

It is, then, to those familiar with the complicated problems of quaternary geology that the final interpretation of the Ingress Vale finds must be left, and those of us whose particular study is that of prehistoric ceramics must await the decision of those who have specialized in these aspects of archaeological science before we can claim the undoubted existence of palæolithic pottery in Britain.

STUART PIGGOTT.

### Technology : India.

Aiyappan.

**Prehistoric Hand-made Pottery.** By A. Aiyappan.

**197** Fig. 1 is a rough hand-made earthenware ladle found underneath a pottery sarcophagus in one of the Gajjalakonda cairns in the Kurnool district (Arch. Sur. Dept., Southern Circle, Ann. Rep., 1914-15). Mr. A. H. Longhurst describes it as "a curious pottery made ladle" with solid handle, buff-coloured, about 9½ in. in length and 5 in. in height. The handle is broken. Fig. 2 is a gourd-shell ladle used by the *Savaras* of the Vizagapatam hills and is 15 in. long. Even a superficial examination of the figures will bring home to the mind of the observer the strong possibility of the pottery ladle having been fabricated on the model of some gourd original like fig. 2. The modelling is so true that even the part where the stalk is attached to the gourd is very naturally reproduced in clay.

"It may be taken as proved," says Dr. Haddon, "that in a number of cases the forms of pots are taken from natural objects, or from



FIG. 1.

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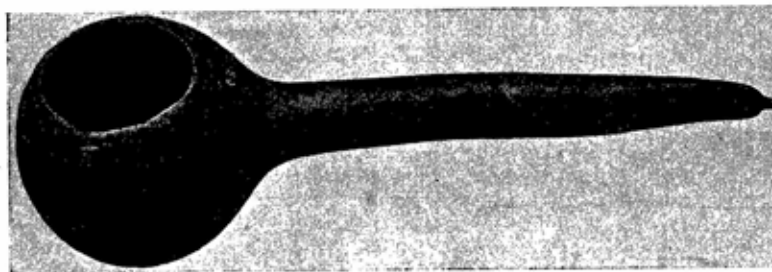


FIG. 2.

"receptacles made of different materials . . . We cannot hope to have the earlier forms preserved to us." The early history of pottery in India is also shrouded in mystery; few of our ancient pottery specimens disclose anything in their form from which their history could be gleaned. Therefore, this crude ladle from an ancient funerary

monument is of interest as it shows how our early potters copied the forms of natural utensils.

A. AIYAPPAN.

### REVIEWS.

**Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa.** Edited by I. Schapera. London: Routledge, 1934. xiv + 312 pp., plates, maps, bibliography.

**198** This is a most timely book, and Dr. Schapera's team of collaborators has fulfilled in a most admirable way the Editor's general aim and plan.

Not to dictate a policy for the solution of South Africa's most complex and threatening problem, but to ensure that those with whom direction of policy lies shall have before them an intelligible and reliable picture of the contemporary situation, a courageous statement of the causes which have produced that situation, and an equally courageous

indication of what, to them, is the inescapable conclusion from the facts.

The book opens upon the note that "it is no longer possible for the two races to develop apart from each other." It examines the segregationist position most searchingly and exposes its unhealthy roots, deep in a soil of uneasiness, dread and compromise; compromise, that is to say, between brutal repression, now seen to be impossible, and assimilation, still repelled as unthinkable. It examines with equal fullness the policy of the adaptationist; gives place in its considerations to contemporary movements of thought and policy in the Central and East African territories; and poses fairly and squarely the question which the adaptationist must answer or leave the field. What place is to be given to the African ultimately? In line with the Hilton Young Report on East Africa it sees in adaptation a policy certainly facilitating the transition to assimilation but providing no final solution in itself. That is to say, it sees adaptation as a stage in a process at the end of which there can only stand one thing, a co-operation of European and African in all the affairs of the country's life and on equal terms. Dr. Schapera's plan, therefore has been not merely to place material for judgment in the hands of Government but also in the hands of Industry and of the Church.

The book is a planned structure with its foundation upon two sections supplied by the Editor himself. One, *The Old Bantu Culture*, adequate and accurate if his position be correct that South Africa as a whole may be taken to represent a picture of unbroken patrilineal form; the other, *Present Day Life in the Native Reserves*, confined to the area of which Dr. Schapera speaks with personal knowledge, the Kxatla Reserve of Bechuanaland Protectorate. The limitation of the data is not, as it happens, a weakness since later—and most valuable—sections by Dr. H. M. Robertson and Mr. W. H. Hutt on *The Economic Condition of the Rural Natives* and *The Economic Position of the Bantu in South Africa*, carry the evidence over the wider field. It may be of interest here to observe that the situation in Bechuanaland, as described by Dr. Schapera, can be paralleled, both as regards actual developments to-day and also as regards certain obvious tendencies, in the territories of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia; far enough away, one would think, from the Union of South Africa, but yet, through labour supply, linked sufficiently closely to the great mining areas to be sensitive to the same influences and responsive in exactly the same ways.

Perhaps this introductory material might with advantage have been followed at once by Mr. Jabavu's terrible chapter on *Bantu Grievances* which here forms the concluding section. Whether as introductory background, however, or as final note, this voice of the African would remain equally dominant in the mind of the reader. It is terrible in its quiet statement; in its typically African economy of effort; in the directness of its use of the overlord's language. Perhaps it may be claimed

as the highest proof of the value of this book that at no point does any one of the collaborators seem unworthy to stand beside this African in the rôle of intermediary towards understanding and atonement.

Mr. W. G. A. Mear's contribution on *The Educated Native in Bantu Communal Life* is important and informative to a marked degree. It explores material of great value along a line not hitherto worked in such detail. It is also noticeable for the uncompromising stand it takes for, and not against, Bantu capacity and the certainty of future development. Here, and with him must be bracketed Mr. Hoernlé in his section on *Race Mixture and Native Policy*, we have a reply to the prevalent conventional view and to the extreme position recently expounded by the Premier of Southern Rhodesia that "neither now nor at any future time can political or social equality be admitted." In this connection Mr. Hoernlé is very impressive. He presents a reasoned plea against unreasoned fear and appeals for the inauguration of a period of 'human engineering,' which will employ in the social structure of the future the magnificent human material to-day consigned to inferior and subordinate uses.

The whole problem of racial contact in South Africa in its effect upon the technique of *Native Administration*, with the subordinate problem of just what law is to be administered, has been entrusted here to Dr. Edgar Brookes, and this section, with his advocacy of needed services, calls for careful study. In another field, similarly limited to consideration of a specific sub-problem, Dr. Eiselen contributes a very candid chapter on *Christianity and the Religious Life of the Bantu* which, if it may perhaps antagonize the reader temporarily with such words or phrases as 'uprooting' and 'the complete victory over Bantu religion' as describing the aim of Christian faith, and will, perhaps, be read elsewhere with varied feelings, is important from its insistence upon something that is too much overlooked. The fact that while Christian teaching has in some of its effects been devastating to Bantu faith, Christian failure to live out in ordinary contacts what it has taught has been still more devastating in the sphere of race-relations. In this connection his pages 79-82 may be particularly mentioned.

Where overlapping occurs, as between this contribution or that, it will be found to be rather an interlocking of the various parts with a resultant strengthening of the whole. Indeed, it is very noticeable, as one moves from viewpoint to viewpoint with each succeeding writer, that the apparent complexity of the problem on a general view is not so daunting after all. Once admit, with Mr. Hoernlé, the possibility of utilizing all the available material in this project of 'human engineering' towards a shared race-future and there is an appreciable clearing of the atmosphere. Visibility definitely improves. Those who would struggle on, self-handicapped by a determination to use only material of one kind, refusing this or that 'because

'it is black,' are themselves the authors of the problem. It is at this point that the diverse evidence and experience of Dr. Schapera's contributors interlock and the cumulative effect of this convergence of evidence and experience is overwhelming.

There are two further contributions, both in one sense outside the general body of the material; Mr. Lestrade's on *European Influences on Development of Bantu Language and Literature* and Mr. Kirby's *The Effect of Western Civilization on Bantu Music*. These, and perhaps especially the former, might well be made available for their specialist public in separate form.

One closes this book with feelings of gratitude to the Editor and to his collaborators. It is more than timely. It may, perhaps, mark a turning-point in the outlook of the dominant race upon the problem of 'human engineering' which to-day involves both Western Civilization and the natives of South Africa.

T. CULLEN YOUNG.

**The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro and its connection with other Scripts.** By Dr. G. R. Hunter. With an Introduction by Professor S. Langdon. (*Studies in the History of Culture*, No. 1.) London, Kegan Paul, 1934. 210 pp., xxvii plates. Price 21s.

Two of the most important discoveries of the present day in the field of archaeology have been those made by Mr. Woolley at Ur, and those of Sir John Marshall and his colleagues in the Indus Valley. The excavations at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, and other sites have revealed the existence of an advanced civilization, stretching from the Himalayan foothills to the Baluchistan border and beyond, and proved by Mesopotamian correspondences to date back at least to 4000 B.C. This antedates Indian history, as we have hitherto known it, by 2,000 years. The inhabitants of the Indus Valley dwelt in well-planned cities, with wide, straight roads; they had an elaborate drainage system—a thing unknown to later India—houses built of brick, and public baths, but, apparently, no temples and no palaces. In the last two respects they differed entirely from their Mesopotamian contemporaries. They were a thick-set, stocky race, with narrow eyes and full, fleshy lips. Their religion consisted of the worship of the *lingam* or phallus, the Mother Goddess, and certain sacred animals and trees. They were intensely artistic, and produced with great skill portrait-statuettes in stone, bronze and clay, toys, fine glazed pottery and jewellery. But their most remarkable productions are the unique steatite seals, which have been known for some time. These have on them a number of animals, which are depicted with consummate art. The commonest is a strange beast which appears to be a unicorn. He occurs so frequently that one is tempted to wonder whether he is not the tutelary deity of the race. The next commonest is a Brahminy bull, a magnificent fellow with a great dewlap, garlanded and wearing an embroidered cloth. Others are the elephant, the rhinoceros, and the crocodile. One

seal depicts a horned, three-headed god, sitting in a yogic *āsana*, and surrounded by beasts, who has been conjecturally identified with the Indian Siva. The most interesting point about these seals, however, is the fact that each bears an inscription in characters which have hitherto defied interpretation.

Three chapters in Sir John Marshall's 'Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization' were devoted to the script, including an important one by Professor Langdon. Dr. G. R. Hunter, in the present thesis, has carried the investigation a step further. He has shown that the script has affinities to proto-Elamite, and, less closely, to Sumerian and Egyptian. The resemblances to these three scripts seem too close to be accidental, but whether the connection is due to community of descent or borrowing cannot at this stage be determined. It has also a superficial resemblance to the Minoan script of Crete, which is also as yet undeciphered, and to Sabean. But what is most astonishing is the fact that it is identical with the mysterious scripts discovered on Easter Island! This would be incredible were it not vouched for by no less an authority than Professor Langdon. As Professor Langdon says, none can tell how this ancient Indian script mysteriously travelled to a remote island in the Pacific, long before the dawn of history.

Dr. Hunter's elaborate and painstaking investigation of the scripts on 750 inscribed objects has led him to a number of important conclusions, which take us several steps forward in the solution of this fascinating puzzle. The script is to be read from right to left. The signs are not alphabetic, but, like Sumerian, a mixture of the phonetic and the pictographic. The language was probably monosyllabic, and therefore is neither Aryan nor Semitic. It is not that of the proto-Elamite tablets. In both cases, the sign-groups represent proper names. Many signs are common to both, but the sequences are different. If there are no proper names in common, Dr. Hunter infers that the languages cannot be closely related. Dr. Hunter claims to have determined the significance of a few signs—ablative and dative suffixes, numerals, and words for 'slave' and 'son.' A solution, however, is not likely to be arrived at until a bi-lingual seal is discovered, either in Mesopotamia or the Indus Valley. The Sumerians, as Professor Langdon points out, must have known this script in their intercourse with the travellers from India who brought the Indian seals to Sumer, and they were the only literary people who knew this writing and language when it was still written and spoken.

I myself think that the most interesting of the many problems is that of the connection of the Indus Valley culture with that of later India. I am inclined to the view that the proto-Indians, to borrow Dr. Hunter's convenient term, were the Dasyus of the Vedas, the noseless, phallic-worshipping city dwellers, who were overthrown, as so many times the peoples of the Panjab have been overthrown, by more virile races descending through the passes. I think that the Vedic Aryans settled down and intermarried with the conquered race, and



borrowed from them, not only the Brāhmi script, but the many non-Vedic elements which appear in later Hinduism—the cults of Siva, the *lingam* and the Bull, of the Mother Goddess and the Sacred Tree. I am inclined to think, too, that we may trace many 'proto-Indian' elements in early Indian art. But this is, perhaps, a digression. Nor is it possible here to go into the question whether the Brahuīs are the degenerate descendants of this early civilization, or their connection with the Dravidians. All we can say is that the Indus Valley folk were a seafaring race, who found their way to India, either along the Persian Gulf or through the Bolan Pass, from Western Asia, and that they were part of the 'far-flung civilization of the Chalcolithic age,' which embraces the great rivers, the Nile, the Tigris-Euphrates and the Indus, and—*mirabile dictu*—appears to have extended, in some unfathomed manner, to Easter Island and Central America.

H. G. RAWLINSON.

## INDIA.

**Sankhyā: The Indian Journal of Statistics. Vol. I. Part I. June 1933. Edited by P. C. Mahalanobis. Calcutta. Foreign rates, 32s. per volume and 9s. per number.**

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The first meeting of the Indian Statistical Institute was held at Calcutta on the 27th December, 1931. It was founded for the promotion of the "study of statistics" both pure and applied, and allied subjects, and, judging by the first part of this *Journal*, which is being published with the help of the Institute, this object is already being energetically carried out. Of the six papers it contains presenting the results of original research, there are four of primary or some secondary anthropological interest. Two of these are by Professor Mahalanobis, who is to be congratulated on the first fruits of his editorial labours. One is entitled: "Studies in Educational Tests. No. 1. The Reliability of a 'Group-Test of Intelligence in Bengali.'" This first part discusses the statistical reliability of group intelligence tests carried out on 1212 school children. Owing to the language factor, no valid comparisons could be made between the average results obtained by Indian and European subjects, but measures of the growth and change of variability with age are to be presented in later parts of these studies, and they will permit racial comparisons. The second paper by the Editor deals with "A Revision of Risley's Anthropometric Data relating to the Tribes and Castes of Bengal." A critical examination of Risley's material had long been needed, since it has been shown to be defective in some respects, though practically all the generally accepted conclusions relating to Indian ethnography are still derived from it. It is concluded that few errors were made in transcribing individual measurements, but that many crept in during the calculation of the average values. Lists of errors are given together with revised means, and these will be indispensable to anyone making future use of Risley's data for Bengal. Useful as such a careful revision may be, it does not finally establish the reliability of his measurements. There is reason to believe that the subjects were selected in such a way that the differences between castes were exaggerated, and, although all the measurements are said to have been taken under his supervision, there is no guarantee that the different observers who were using the same technique did in fact obtain comparable results. Such questions could only be finally settled by re-measurement,

and we may hope that such a labour will form part of the future activities of the Indian Statistical Institute. A paper by T. J. Y. Roxburgh discusses "Galton's Work on the Evidential Value of Finger Prints." It is a criticism of Galton's estimate of the probability that two persons will be found with identical finger prints, and no new data are presented. "Maternity Statistics from Mysore," a co-operative study, analyses the statistics derived from a Maternity Hospital between 1924 and 1930. Measurements of twins and triplets are given, together with a variety of other material. It is generally recognized to-day that problems such as those of Indian ethnography cannot be solved without the aid of quantitative methods, and all anthropologists interested in India will obviously have to consult this *Journal* in order to keep in touch with new developments in that and allied subjects. There is a pressing need for new data in these fields, and we may anticipate that the recently-formed Institute will extend and co-ordinate researches which will ultimately satisfy this need.

G. M. M.

## RELIGION.

**Der Ursprung der Gottesidee. Eine historisch-kritische und positive Studie. II. Teil. Die Religionen der Urvölker. IV. Band. Die Religionen der Urvölker Afrikas. 1933. R.m. 26.25. V. Band. Nachträge zu den Religionen der Urvölker Amerikas, Asiens u. Australiens. 1934. R.m. 29.50. Von P. W. Schmidt, S.V.D. (Münster in Westfalen).**

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In these two massive and masterly volumes, together running into no less than 1,742 pages, Professor Schmidt has collected a vast array of facts and theories concerning the High Gods of the low races brought under review which will remain a storehouse for anthropologists for many years to come. And these two mighty tomes, it will be remembered, are only two regional studies in the entire work which will be completed in eight parts. Fr. Schmidt, therefore, is a veritable Frazer in amassing evidence in support of his contentions, though, of course, the method of the two compilers are very different. In contrast to the universalistic form of the comparative method adopted by Sir James, our author is 'historical' in his approach to the data, and writes with the avowed object of establishing with 'positive certainty,' and by 'objective means,' the ethnological age of the different High Gods he brings to earth.

In the first of the two books before us an exhaustive synthesis is made of the evidence concerning the Supreme Beings among the African Pygmies, mainly drawn from material collected by Père Trilles from the district in the neighbourhood of Ngoila and the first fall of the Upper Abanga, a tributary of the Upper Ogowe. This observer also visited other groups in the French Congo and the Spanish territory of Rio Muni in the South Cameroon district. Mgr. Le Roy supplied the information from the Ajongo of Fernan Vas and the Bakula in the South-east Cameroon, while the data from the Northern boundary came from Fr. Seiwert. It would be interesting to compare these results with those obtained by other investigators in the same areas, and unless and until this is done some uncertainty may be felt about the sources, since it is so very difficult 'to think black' where abstract concepts are concerned. In certain cases, as Fr. Schmidt admits, there has been obvious borrowing of Christian ideas, but when allowance has been made for such contacts, he is convinced that ethical High Gods with the noblest attributes and qualities like eternity, omniscience, omnipotence, creative power and righteousness, combined with beneficence towards mankind, are the

characteristic features of the All-Father belief in its oldest form.

Instead of the cultureless Golden Age at the threshold of human history postulated by our English diffusionists, Professor Schmidt pictures a wholly edifying Eden of primitive simplicity and touching piety before the Bantu in Africa and the Iroquois, Cherokee and Muskogians in North America introduced 'naturism,' 'fetichism,' ghost-worship, animism, totemism, 'magism' and higher forms of civilization. But in spite of these sophisticated accretions, the African Négrillos and the North-central Californians, Algonkians and Salish, never lost their original faith in the Supreme Being, or traces of their primeval innocence. A fundamental difficulty, however, in all Fr. Schmidt's work is the meaning that can be given legitimately to notions of eternity, omniscience, and ethical righteousness attributed to these very primitive High Gods, since these ideas have such a very restricted meaning, if, indeed, they occur at all, in the native mind. Furthermore, while a tribal All-Father may be looked upon as an originator of the culture of his people, and even of the world as it is known within the limits of tribal conceptions of space, his creative powers may not be more than those attributed to a powerful rainmaker. The problem of causation did not begin to exercise the human mind until philosophical thought arose at a relatively late period in the development of civilization, and it is inconceivable that primeval man reflected on ultimate beginnings and causes.

But leaving on one side the theoretical contentions of these monumental volumes, the analysis of the *kulturkreise*, and the general methodological scheme, are highly illuminating, as is the wealth of detail throwing a flood of light on obscure tribes and cultures. In the elucidation of the Amerindian religions, the resources of the best authorities on the region—Kroeber, Gifford, Goddard, Loeb, Speck, Teit, to mention but a few of the household names quoted in abundance—have been utilized, and while the author frequently draws conclusions which would not command the assent of these and other anthropologists, the material collected and skilfully employed is of very real interest and of permanent value.

The creation myths, for example, if wearisome in their repetitions, make a substantial addition to folklore, and the supreme importance of the stories in their cultural and religious setting is recognized, if their dramatic re-enactments in ritual are not worked out in all their various ramifications. But, of course, it is in his treatment of the cult of the High God that Professor Schmidt brings to bear upon the complex data the entire weight of his expert knowledge and great learning. Moreover, whatever view may be taken of his historical method, the importance of establishing the ethnological age of cultural elements cannot be too strongly urged in determining a sequence in custom and belief. This is sound science, and it gives quality to the author's laborious research which is independent of his theoretical findings.

E. O. JAMES.

**The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion:**  
**202** Lectures Delivered on the William Wyse  
Foundation at Trinity College, Cambridge.  
By Sir James George Frazer. Vol. II. Mac-  
millan & Co. London, 1934. viii + 151 pp. Price  
10s. 6d.

Age, so far from withering Sir James' powers, ripens them; for it is the special privilege of scientists of the first rank that they seem exempt from the Aristotelian law by which everything, having once reached its prime, goes on to decay. In this book we have the familiar charm of style, the old industry in gathering facts, the

familiar generosity in quoting them at length, and withal a yet better comment on them than the earlier works had taught us to expect. For the author is grown even fairer than he was before to those who see the material from an angle different from his own; he admits, not once, but repeatedly (see especially pp. 4, 121) that the phenomenon he has chosen to discuss, the fear of the dead, or death, or ghosts, which is shown more or less by all mankind, is not the only constituent in the human attitude towards that which is no longer human. He even stresses the co-existence of love and tenderness towards the kindred dead.

That fear of the dead does exist, and that many quaint precautions are taken to protect the survivors from those who have gone before them, he has of course no difficulty in proving by abundant illustrations. In this particular volume he is concerned, to use his own words, with "showing how primitive man attempts to drive away the spirits of the dead by sheer physical force, and to keep them at a distance by interposing physical obstacles between him and them" (Preface, p. vii). The six lectures which make up the six chapters of this book deal in order with driving the ghost away, by such methods as beating the air and ground with weapons of various sorts, barricading its way back by means of water, barricading with fire, binding or maiming of the dead body, miscellaneous precautions, and the removal of inducements to return by the destruction of the dead man's property. The examples range, as usual, from low savagery to the customs of Europe in ancient and modern times.

A reviewer is privileged, if not actually bound, to find fault if he may; and a slight weakness in this book is perhaps a too ready assumption that the belief in an actual ghost, a spectral, or sometimes a rather material, being in which the personality of the dead man lives on, is the original idea behind all these defensive measures. Thus, on p. 38, the Indian rite of digging furrows and filling them with water is interpreted as a barrier to the returning ghost, in face of the Indian explanation (in the Satapatha-Brāhmana) that the water is to act as a barrier to sin. This, as a 'moral explanation,' seems to the author to be a secondary, probably a priestly interpretation. But is it necessarily so, and is the concept of sin necessarily moral? Certainly neither *noxa* nor *scelus* in Latin need have any moral connotation, and the reviewer suspects that much the same may be true of the Sanskrit equivalents. Elsewhere, as on pp. 41 *seq.*, it may well seem that the various washings and other rites are attempts to get rid of the contagion, or even the smell, of death rather than measures to bar the pursuit of a ghost, or knock it off if it tries to cling to the body of a mourner with its phantom arms.

H. J. ROSE.

**The Werewolf.** By Montague Summers. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1933. xiv + 307 pp., pls. 8. Price 15s.

**203** The Rev. Montague Summers is well known as a writer on the darker superstitions of the Middle Ages, and as a translator of mediæval works on witchcraft and kindred subjects. It is unfortunate that a writer of such erudition and of such a wide knowledge of so recondite a literature should be so lacking as he is in the spirit of scientific inquiry, for he is not only uncritical but definitely obscurantist. It will perhaps be enough to illustrate this by two (out of many) passages (the italics are mine) in which the author commits himself to sweeping statements of unpardonable inaccuracy: "It is now quite generally recognized," he says, "that insanity is very frequently nothing else than diabolical possession" (p. 22); "No thinking



"person can deny that these witches in the form of cats . . . suck the blood of children and overlook them . . . it is proven by irrefragable testimony" (p. 88). The kindest view to take of a scholar who can write nonsense of this kind is probably that it is a pose in order to attract readers by something sensational, an attitude suggested likewise by his rather irrelevant digression on the wolf in pederastic metaphor. The author of this book has a flatteringly poor opinion of anthropologists, and in pointing out the interesting fact that Girolamo Tartarotti in 1749 regarded witchcraft as a remnant or continuation of a pagan cult, he ungallantly describes this view as "a foolish maggot . . . re-presented with 'singular ill-success in a more modern work.'" He likewise denies specifically and more than once that the belief in werewolves can rest on a basis of lycanthropic mania; he omits also from his otherwise up-to-date bibliography not only any reference to the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in which that view is advanced, but, what is worse, any reference to Dr. Margaret Murray's important volume on the witch cult of Western Europe. It is, nevertheless, this bibliography which is the real justification for the book, for it is on the whole unusually comprehensive, affording a most valuable list of references which may be regarded as indispensable to any future student of lycanthropy, though it is perhaps unfortunate that works which are frankly fiction were not segregated into a separate list. Similarly, the illustrations include the fanciful conceptions of probably incredulous artists, as well as reproductions of three or four ancient woodcuts likely to be intended to convey what the author really believed. In spite of profuse questions and allusions Mr. Summers' style is polished and readable, but it is marred by an irritating tendency to (I use an expression of his own) "farse and bombast" his text with words so precious

that they have passed completely out of currency; 'expiscate' is bad enough, but 'mournival,' 'farmy,' 'rous' and 'veak,' though perhaps less ugly, are hardly English nowadays. This use of obsolete terms is no doubt of a piece with the author's general combination of research with obscurantism, of erudition with sensationalism. For the perversity, real or assumed, of one who believes in the literal transformation of the 'divine' image into animal form, the penance prescribed nearly a thousand years ago by Bishop Burchard, is surely much too light in this century. Mr. Summers deserves more than ten days' restriction to bread and water.

J. H. H.

#### GENETICS.

**Der Erbarzt:** Supplement to the "Deutsche Aerzteblatt," edited by Professor Dr. O. Freiherr von Verschuer. Leipzig (Hirzel): Vol. I, 1-2, July-August, 1934.

204

This new periodical for Human Genetics is introduced by a recommendation from Dr. Gütt of the German Ministry of the Interior, emphasizing the close connexion between genetic research and medical practice, in pursuance of a policy of national regeneration by systematic selection and elimination. The editor, who is at the head of the section for Human Heredity in the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology in Berlin, is supported by a distinguished list of contributors. Professor Eugene Fischer insists on the necessity of familiarizing ordinary people with the results of genetic research on animals and plants, with their applicability to man, and with the social and political implications of these new facts and prospects, and takes some pains to justify the selection of "Erbarzt" as the title of the new journal: "new things and new ideas require 'new words.'" J. L. M.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### Fear of the Dead.

SIR,—I have just seen MAN, 1934, 136. Since I am to have cudgels, I propose to take a cockshy with them at Lord Raglan's three points.

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As for the second point, I accept it as a valid and weighty objection, provided, of course, that mummification and analogous practices are not regarded as diffused to savages by some sophisticated, if archaic, civilization. The first point seems to offer greater difficulty. Human error generally would seem largely due to the misapplication of correct observation. Thus, there is a belief shared by the Sema Naga and the Kuki of these hills with the Irish peasantry, or some of them, that a hawkmoth caterpillar of the Death's Head or nearly allied variety turns not into a moth but into a mouse. This seems to be an erroneous application of the correct observation that caterpillars undergo metamorphosis, the error being instigated by the tail growing on the rear segment of the caterpillar. There seems no difficulty in the way of a misapplication of the observed fact of infection, by a diseased corpse, leading to an erroneous attribution of infection to an accidental corpse, while the enhanced fear of the dead in certain cases seems due in any case to the impingement of entirely different ideas, e.g., in the case of corpses killed by wild animals, possibly to the fear that the soul of the deceased, having migrated into the eater of his flesh, will lure his friends to a like fate. The error in most rationalizing theories is, perhaps, in supposing that any belief has a single and constant origin, when beliefs, like customs and races, are in a perpetual state of diffu-

sion, fusion and hybridization. That any corpse is liable to infect in some degree, is suggested at any rate in Assam and Burma by the general relegation of the duty of burying to individuals, selected as being of little value to the community otherwise; the fact that non-infectious corpses are sometimes credited with a greater degree of infection than actually infectious ones does not negative the possibility of an original observation that corpses are liable to infect. The Andamanese, in an epidemic, show how much they seem to recognize the danger of infection by killing the living as soon as they develop symptoms of the disease.

Lord Raglan's third point, which seems to amount to stating that a scientific turn of mind is necessary to make a correct observation of cause and effect, appears the weakest of the three. But for the ability to make such observations, there would be no human history at all, and the "scientific turn of mind," if it differ from the unscientific in anything but degree, differs perhaps rather in the critical application of deduced principles than in the mere observation of cause and effect. Miss Durham also would probably explain the observant savage's erroneous attribution of infection to non-infectious corpses, precisely by the absence of such a scientific turn of mind. Personally, after twenty years' pretty intimate association with savages, I am entirely sceptical of any radical difference whatever between the mental processes of savages and those of civilized persons, and I suggest that the apparent contrasts are merely due to reliance upon a very different corpus of correct and incorrect information. Among savages, as among the

civilized, the great majority take whatever ideas and information may be fed to them, but there are always a few individuals sceptical and critical enough to experiment for themselves and to repudiate what conflicts with their experience. J. H. HUTTON.  
Kohima, Naga Hills, Assam.

### Irish 'Sheela-na-gigs.'

**206** SIR.—Mr. H. C. Lawlor, in MAN, 1931, 4, 'Two typical Irish Sheela-na-gigs,' is of the opinion that "the term Sheela-na-gig has no etymological meaning, and is an absurd name."

Miss Margaret Murray, in her recent article on 'Fertility Figures' (J.R.A.I., lxiv), admits that the translation generally given 'Woman of the Castle' is meaningless, but says rightly that the word itself is fixed by usage and requires no apology.

The point that I wish to raise is that the word may not be meaningless and absurd.

Is the translation 'Woman of the Castle' a true one? In 'The Bright Temptation,' a novel on Ireland of the tenth century, Mr. Austin Clarke introduces a Sheela-na-gig, which he spells *Sheela-na-gigich* and translates 'Sheela of the Paps.'

I am no Irish scholar competent to check his orthography, but as, due, I suppose, to the usual Hobson-Jobson of the *Sassunnach*, Lough Craoibhe can become Lough Crewe, and Dubhadh, Dowth, Sheela-na-gig may be the result of the same process. Does *gigich* mean paps? Possible cognate words are A.S. *Tit*, Ger. *Zitze*, Punjabi *chicha* and *hikk*, all of which mean 'breast' or 'pap.'

If there is a word *gigich* and it has some such meaning, then, although it is admitted that the breasts on these figures are seldom prominent, and often absent, the term 'Sheela-na-gig' is neither so meaningless nor absurd, but only the victim of a process of degradation.

D. H. GORDON.

Small Arms School,  
Pachmarhi,  
Central Provinces.

### A Russian Funeral Feast.

**207** SIR.—We are accustomed to go far afield in search of primitive customs. The following account of the memorial feast held in honour of her grandmother, yearly on May 2nd, is given by Marie Britnieva in her autobiographical account of the war and Russian revolution ('One Woman's Story,' M. Britnieva. Barker, London, 1934). In the midst of the war—May, 1916—the family travelled to the Chistopo Convent in the cemetery of which the old lady was interred.

"At eight next morning we were in the spacious Convent church and the memorial Mass began. Then followed a short Requiem at the grave and after that we entered the great dining hall where the memorial dinner was to take place. Long, narrow tables stood there covered with white cloths. We took our places and, after the priest had said grace, sat down. There was a big separate table, which stood in the corner, for the beggars and wanderers. The food was excellently prepared and consisted chiefly of sterlet prepared in various wonderful ways. Fresh caviare and other local delicacies were also plentiful. The nuns were wonderful cooks. . . . At last two enormous samovars were brought in and the tea drinking began. It all lasted for over three hours." (p. 54.)

Thus, in Russia, in 1916, the Russians of the upper classes still celebrated the ancient pre-Christian rite of the funeral feast. It would be of interest to know whether, though the Church has been abolished, the ancient feast rite still survives.

I saw it in Serbia in 1902. Here, the feasts took place in the graveyard, at Nish, upon the graves, and the beggars and wanderers stood with their begging bowls and sacks at the gates, waiting for the remains of the meals. M. E. DURHAM.

### Female Fertility Figures.

**208** SIR.—With reference to J.R.A.I., lxiv, p. 95. It is to be hoped that Miss M. A. Murray will examine the squatting figure, deeply carved, but weather-beaten and partially broken, now built into the inner face of the south wall of the south transept of Penmon Priory, Anglesea. It has the appearance of a *Sheela-na-gig*, a woman with 'spread legs and arms akimbo,' but the portion showing the genitalia has been broken off, apparently at a remote period.

Built into the same wall is a bearded male head, much later in date. DAVID FREEMAN.

### Tridents, N. Rhodesia.

**209** SIR.—The following may be of interest to the authors of the articles MAN, 1929, 147; 1930, 56; 1931, 44; 1932, 47.

(1) In 1930, I obtained a trident from an old Tonga native in chief Mapanza's area, Kalomo District, in the Batoka Province of Northern Rhodesia, approx. Lat. 17° Long. 27° S.

The native stated he had had it for years and it came into his possession from another native. That all he knew was that in the old days he had heard that the 'Big Ones' only were allowed to carry these tridents. That it was not native workmanship of the Tonga tribe.

Description: The shaft is of wild ebony carved in sections. Length, 27 inches. Middle blade 19 inches to where it is slotted into the shaft. Width across outside trident points 3½ inches; length of outside blades 6½ inches at the butt, metal contrivance shaped W.

(2) The smaller spear was obtained by me in the East Loangwa Province of Northern Rhodesia. Nothing seemed to be known of its origin. Blade to socket, 15 inches. Shaft of polished ebony 21 inches long, bound at each end with iron. At the end a 5-inch iron pick socketed into the end of the shaft. The iron is nature-smelted and hand forged. The design is unusual and not known in these parts.

D. GORDON LANCASTER.  
Fort Jameson, N. Rhodesia.

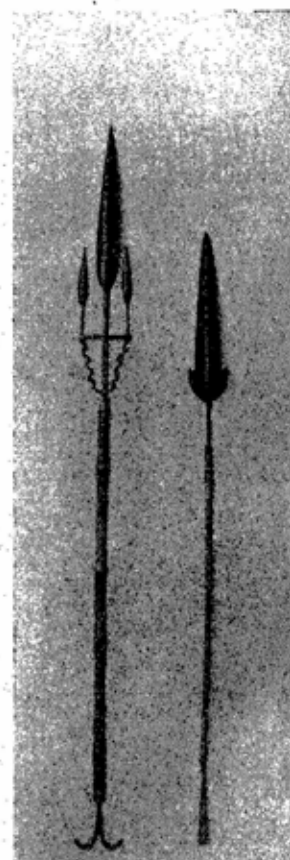


FIG. 1. FIG. 2.





**MEN (Abarundi and Tang Teu) WEARING NOSE CLIP**

*Photograph by Mr. J. S. Darling.*

# MAN

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### ORIGINAL ARTICLES

#### Tanganyika: Ethnography.

With Plate M.

Griffiths and Darling.

Snuff Taking and the Use of Nose Clips in Buha, Tanganyika Territory. By J. E. S. Griffiths and J. S. Darling.

**210** The area usually described by its inhabitants as Buha lies in Tanganyika Territory between lakes Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza, being bordered on the North-West by Burundi (Belgian Urundi), and comprises the greater parts of the administrative districts of Kasulu (Buha West) and Kibondo (Buha East). The majority of the population are Abaha, but there is a large minority of Abarundi in Buha East.

The taking of snuff, in a liquid form, is very common in Buha, especially among the Abarundi.

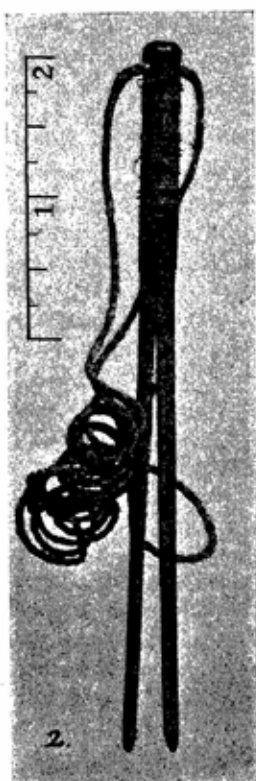
The liquid snuff (Giha name *ifwanka*) is prepared by mixing ordinary dried tobacco leaves with water and adding wood ash. The ash of any type of wood is used. The snuff so prepared is carried in a small gourd suspended from the neck or waist. The gourds in which the snuff is carried are usually reddened, and incised with a triangular or zig-zag design in black. There are two kinds of liquid snuff, *nyizi* and *nimbi*. The only difference appears to be that *nyizi* is superior to *nimbi*. If the snuff is found to be too strong, water is added; the Muha does not like very strong snuff.

The taking of snuff, though common, is not universal. Both men and women may do so. In Buha West snuff is usually taken by men only, but in Buha East it is customary for women also



Scale in inches.

FIG. 1. ORNAMENTAL GOURD. KIRUNDI NAME: 'NTEMBEKO.' USED TO CARRY TOBACCO LEAVES IN WATER, WHICH FORMS A JUICE. THIS IS PUT INTO THE NOSE LIKE SNUFF, AND THE NOSE CLOSED WITH A CLIP. MADE AND USED BY MALE 'MRUNDI,' OBTAINED BETWEEN KIBONDO AND BELGIAN URUNDI BORDER. POLISHED WITH GROUND-NUTS. ORNAMENTED WITH A HEATED KNIFE.



Scale in inches.

FIG. 2. NOSE-CLIP, MADE OF TWO STICKS BOUND TOGETHER AT ONE END WITH FINE WIRE, AND CARRIED SUSPENDED FROM THE NECK BY A STRING. CLIPPED OVER THE NOSTRILS FROM ABOVE TO CLOSE THEM AFTER INSERTING TOBACCO JUICE AND WATER. KIRUNDI NAME, 'MUGOVERO.' GIHA NAME, 'MUNENGO.'



to do so. The writers have seen few women taking snuff, though this may be due merely to a dislike of doing so in the presence of strangers.

Should a young man desire to begin taking snuff he asks his father's permission, saying that he wishes to begin to *sunga*. At the same time, he presents his father with a pot of beer; this has no special name. The father thereupon presents the son with a small gourd (*itembeko*) and some tobacco, and the son may thereafter take snuff. A woman has no need to ask permission to *sunga*; but should a son begin to *sunga* without asking permission, his father would be angry and 'would swear at him and drive him away,' for he would say his son did not fear him.

The method of taking is to pour the liquid snuff into the palm of the hand, throw the head back, and pour the snuff into the nostrils with the fingers in front of the forehead and the base of the palm of the hand in front of the mouth. The nose is then closed with a clip (*Giha urunengo*), or, failing a clip, the nostrils are held pinched together between finger and thumb, until the taker feels he has had enough, which is, usually, not before several minutes have elapsed.

The *urunengo* is on the same principle as the 'Gipsy' clothes pegs sold in England. In Buha East it is usually made of two thin pieces of bamboo about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch wide,  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch thick and 5 inches long, bound together very neatly at the top with very thin copper wire (used for making bracelets, and called *nyerere*). In Buha West, however, where bamboo is less common, it is usually made simply by splitting in two a stiff kind of grass called *chanandali*. The clips are not presented to beginners as are the gourds, but are made by them. The clips are commonly worn suspended round the neck on a piece of cord, though they are sometimes clipped on to the top of the ear.

There appears to be no ritual connected with the taking of snuff. Once a man has received permission he may *sunga* at any time. Should two friends meet, one will offer the other snuff and they will take snuff together. Snuff is also largely taken at beer drinks and markets (the latter being a great institution among the Abaha, but not the Abarundi).

A youth who desires to take snuff, but has not received permission from his father, will do so provided he does not think his father will find out; this serves to show that the parental authority is feared, rather than any religious sanction.

In addition to *ifwanka* (tobacco is called *itabi* or *ifwanka*), a dry type of snuff (*ugoro*) is also used by some Abaha. It is said to be a Kiswahili importation from the coast. Its preparation is, apparently, not so simple as that of *ifwanka*, and is consequently left to certain individuals who make a trade of it. It is prepared by mixing, in certain proportions, roasted banana leaves (bananas being very largely grown by the Abaha) and ground up tobacco leaves. For the grinding of the tobacco a little water is added, but this is dried out before the snuff is ready for use. The mixture is placed in a receptacle of the bark of the *miombo* tree; the receptacle has a lid and is called *manilindo*. The snuff is kept in the *manilindo* till it is sold or used, but need not be kept at all to allow it to mature.

The user of *ifwanka* will not use *ugoro* unless he cannot obtain *ifwanka*; even then he mixes it with water and uses it as liquid snuff. *Ugoro* is usually sold in the markets, and the buyer usually asks to be allowed to try the *ugoro* before he will buy any.

Snuff is said to have an intoxicating effect, but it is of very short duration.

The above notes present only a few aspects of the subject, but contain all the information that is available at present.

J. E. S. GRIFFITHS, J. S. DARLING.

### Gold Coast: Ethnography.

Field.

The Asamanukpai of the Gold Coast. By M. J. Field.

**211** Behind the Gā village of Bawyi rises a forested hill marked on the map Aboaso, but known to the Gās as Adzanote.<sup>1</sup> Monkeys and wild pigs live there, but no hunter will venture on the hill by himself for fear of *Asamanukpai*.

These *Asamanukpai* (also called *Asamanua*, *Adope*, *Abodo*) seem to be identical with the *Mmoetia* described by Rattray.<sup>2</sup> They are dwarf-men, with feet turned back to front, 'a little

<sup>1</sup> Explanation of phonetic symbols: ɔ=a short o as in "hot." j=sh as in "fish." xj=ng as in "sing."

<sup>2</sup> R. S. Rattray: 'Religion and Art in Ashanti.'

bigger than a monkey,' and either black, white, or 'red.' Red (*tʃuru*) is the only Gã word available for describing all shades of buff and brown, besides scarlet, crimson and pink, and here it undoubtedly means 'mulatto colour.' The old dwarfs are the biggest and are bearded. They all eat and dance on outcrops of smooth stone which they themselves polish.

The disc-shaped quartz thunderstones, holed through the middle, of unknown origin, which are plentiful in the district, and are said to have fallen from heaven, are also said to have had their holes made by being caught, on falling, between the finger and thumb of an *asamanukpa*.

Hunters obliged to invade the haunts of *asamanukpai* propitiate them with offerings of rum, placed against their dancing-stones, and with the pans of clean water in which they like to bathe and splash. If disturbed or angered they stone the offender, lead him into the depths of the forest and there lose him.

Occasionally they lead a man away in order to befriend him, and during his stay with them they teach him all they know, and squeeze into his eyes, ears and mouth the juice of a plant which enables him thereafter to see and hear all men's thoughts, to foresee all events, and also to sing and talk with the *Asamanukpa* people. On returning to his home after a sojourn of a week or two, he is known as an *Abɔdɔwɔnyu* (or *Abɔdɔwɔnyo* if a woman) and becomes a much revered fortune-teller (*gbalo*), and giver of advice on medical and other matters.

Not only do these dwarfs haunt the forest, they are known by the sea. A story is told in Osu of the days before the lagoon was drained. The *Asamanukpa* people were then so plentiful that Friday was set aside as theirs, and nobody would visit their seashore haunts on that day. A man named Dzani had an unreasonable wife who on a Friday asked him to fetch her from the beach a flat stone for grinding corn. He refused, whereupon she wept and nagged so persistently that he consented. On the shore he found the rocks spread with pieces of drying cloth. He started to collect these and at once was set upon by a mob of enraged *Asamanukpai*, who stoned him, especially about the head. He returned to the town crying and raving, ran about, demented, for several days and then died.

The following story, told me by an Osu man, is interesting in its likeness to the European fairy-tale of the cobbler who sat up to spy on the fairies who had worked for him.

Two fishermen came and told my Osu friend's grandfather that they had been setting out for a night's fishing when their canoe had been entered by four strangers whom they took for some of the Fanti fishermen who often visited the Gã fishing grounds at certain seasons. That night they drew an unusually good catch of fish, but their visitors insisted on returning to shore before daylight and disappeared as the canoe landed. This happened every night till the two fishermen determined to know their benefactors. So one night, out at sea, they made excuses and delayed return till dawn. As it grew lighter and lighter their companions wept and cried, and two of them plunged overboard and disappeared. The other two stayed in the canoe till daylight revealed them as small and covered with long, dark hair. As the canoe grounded they sprang out and ran away.

The two fishermen related this to my friend's grandfather who said, "You should not have tried to find out your benefactors, if you knew they did not wish it. You have done yourselves great harm." And sure enough their luck left them and in a few weeks they died of melancholy.

There is another type of person who sees *Asamanakpai*, and he has them as familiars about his house. He is often heard to laugh with them, he caresses them as they sit on his knee, and sets food for them whenever he himself eats. He is known as an *Asamanukpatʃe* (father or owner of an *asamanukpa*) and is a respected fortune-teller (*gbalo*), for he consults his familiars on all problems. He is, however, accounted less wise than a man who has been taken away to sojourn with *asamanukpai*, for the latter has been taught all they know and is as wise as they, so has no further need to consult them.

Sometimes the *asamanukpatʃe* calls up his familiars by gazing into a bowl of dark liquid, but more often they come easily and are in and out of the hut all day.

It is said that sometimes an old man with these familiars will give into their charge a young baby. The child grows up with these playmates and guardians about him, and they teach him great wisdom. He often does not know that he is being thus trained, but he grows up '*ayen*'—much cleverer and more lovable than other people.

I have a personal acquaintance with several of these old *asamanukpai* *femei*, and it may be worth while to give a detailed description of the one whom I know best, an old man named Danloh.

He is not a Gã, but a Grunshi from Awuna, though he has lived in a Gã village since he was a young man. He is now very old and feeble. He was only a youth when he first began to see *asamanukpai* (in his own language *kekru*), and it was they who ordered him to leave his own tribe and come South. He is a kindly, gentle, charming old man, and never accepts payment for the advice and help he gives people, as he says that his familiars would regard this as selling *them* and would go away in anger.

This old man lives in a world of his own, accepting none of the usual standards of values. He lives alone in a dark, unsavoury hut without any windows or holes to let in light, for his familiars dislike the light. As they also dislike being disturbed the hut is never swept nor its contents moved. A dozen or so of fowls live in this den with the old man, but he has nothing to do with his wife or his now middle-aged sons. Early in married life he found that his *asamanukpai* disliked his wife, so he gave her up to please them.

It may be added here, in parenthesis, that another kind of familiar, the *njo mli awura*, that lives in the sea, is also excessively jealous of wives and families and often makes it a condition of friendship that sexual intercourse shall be given up.

The old man's habits are most eccentric. Nobody knows what or when he eats, for eating does not interest him. He dozes in the hut all day, but at night wanders off, no one knows where. Sometimes his familiars lead him far away at night and he may be absent for days at a time. In Europe he would undoubtedly be considered a harmless lunatic, but here he is greatly revered.

He tells me that his familiars are four in number and usually delight him with their company, but sometimes annoy and pester him. Then they refuse to give him any peace and call up a crowd of others to help in plaguing him, reminding one of the imps and fiends who sometimes set on the mediæval saints in horrible mobs.

An old woman named *Koko* also told me she had seen *Asamanukpai*. She was a lonely old woman who said she often lay awake at night brooding over the fact that she had borne but one child, a daughter, who had married and left her. On the day she recalled in her story, she had just arrived at her daughter's house on a visit. She was made very welcome and regaled with rum, after which, being sleepy, she went to bed. In the night she awoke feeling someone patting her teasingly on the face, and saw two little persons with very big heads—'not round heads, but very long from back to front.' She was alarmed, whereupon they laughed and scampered away. She roused her daughter, but the daughter said "You are dreaming. Go to sleep again." She did, but the dwarfs continued to worry her all night, waking her and then running away laughing.

In the morning she told her neighbours, and another old woman said, "They were only *asamanukpai*. I often see them. They only wanted some water to drink. If you had left them some and some food to eat they would not have teased you. I always set some out for them."

Rattray describes his *mmoetia* in the same section as he describes the *piraso*, who are a few flesh and blood dwarfs, probably cretins, met with here and there in Ashanti. He seems to be hinting that the *mmoetia* lore is the remnant of recollections of a real pygmy tribe, a suggestion which has been made also about the fairies of Europe. If this is the origin of *asamanukpai* there may be a real basis for their association with quartz discs, polished stone and stone missiles.

There is another possibility which, if accepted, would explain the origin, not only of *mmoetia* and *asamanukpai*, but of all the various fairies, elves, pixies, gnomes and other 'little people' of Europe.

One of the recognized 'types' in European lunatic asylums is the patient who sees 'little people.' I believe such cases are usually tidied up, medically, into the category of 'frustrated maternal instinct,' though the 'little people' are not necessarily children. In the Gold Coast this category would not take in every seer of *asamanukpai*, though there does seem to be a case for regarding normal wedded life as a bar to fairy friendship.

It will have been noted that the man Dzani died raving mad and the two fishermen of melancholia. The old man, Danloh, is obviously not normal, the old woman *Koko* had been fêted with rum. Concerning people lost for a week on Adzarte it is more than likely that they are lost *before* they see

the dwarfs. I have myself been on this hill, guided by two hunters cutting their way with cutlasses and now and then having to climb a tree to take bearings. It would be easy to get lost there and it would be very terrifying. It is an established fact that people lost in the Australian bush go mad, and to the effects of being lost must be added the effects of fasting and thirst. That fasting is often used to produce visions is well known to anthropologists. Rattray himself says somewhere that his Ashanti medicine men say they cannot hear the voice of their god except when fasting.

It is certain that *asamanukpai* are seen only by people in abnormal states, and that the form of the hallucination is fixed by tradition—as is so often the case with visions. But it still remains to find out whether the form of the tradition has a real basis in the remote past or whether it is itself to be referred back to a common type of hallucination.

M. J. FIELD.

# England: Archaeology.

Hawkes.

A Prehistoric Carved Stone in Littondale. By Jacquetta Hawkes.



FIG. 1. A PREHISTORIC CARVED STONE IN LITTONDALE.  
The black lines are incised: the dotted line bounds a broken surface. The stone measures 21 inches  $\times$  12 inches.

The tracing here reproduced was taken from a carved stone found in the bed of a moorland beck in the village of Arncliffe, Littondale, West Riding of Yorkshire. It is of buff-coloured limestone measuring 21 inches  $\times$  12 inches  $\times$  6 inches in thickness; the decorated surface is almost flat. The curvilinear pattern is executed in regular incisions about 4 mms. wide and 3 mms. deep; portions of it have been obliterated by water action and, as is indicated in the illustration, at one end the surface has been broken away altogether. The whole stone has been much battered and may well be only a fragment of a much larger one. The state of preservation suggests that it had been in the stream for a considerable period; it is therefore probable that it was washed down from the open moorland above Arncliffe. In the original the design is more coherent than it here appears owing to the fact that in the waterworn portions faint lines are visible to the eye which cannot be shown on a tracing.

Mr. W. J. Hemp, who has kindly examined the Arncliffe tracing, identifies the style of the design with the 'entail' pattern of the well known Pattern Stone from the chambered cairn of Bryn Celli Ddu in Anglesey, recently excavated and published by him.<sup>1</sup>

The technique of the Arncliffe tracing is comparable with the simple incisions which form the oldest of the four techniques recognizable in the Irish megalithic tumuli,<sup>2</sup> where its early date is indicated by the fact that some examples are demonstrably older than the construction of the tumuli in which

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, LXXX [1930], 179 ff. [See 197 ff. and Plates XLIX-L.]

<sup>2</sup> Burkitt. *Ipek*, 1926, 52 ff.

they occur. Whatever the date of Bryn Celli Ddu, where the design on the Pattern Stone is executed in the pocked line technique, the second oldest of the four types of the Irish classification, it indicates a spread of megalithic ideas which, if the Arncliffe stone be significant, early reached the West Riding of Yorkshire.

The well known Wharfedale rock carvings are to be found for the most part close to Littondale to the southward, on the moors round Ilkley. Here cup and ring markings form the principal type but swastikas and other patterns also occur.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Frank Elgee, who has also been good enough to comment on the Arncliffe tracing, cannot suggest immediate comparisons from this neighbouring group, but such evidence as there is he considers to be against assigning a date earlier than the Middle Bronze Age to the Wharfedale carvings. Their antecedents are obscure, but it may be that in this connection the Arncliffe stone is a significant neighbour. The megalithic affinities of its design suggest that with more material at our disposal it might be possible to form these Early and Middle Bronze Age carvings into a valuable chronological series, looking back, perhaps, to still earlier origins in the West.

JACQUETTA HAWKES.

Alcock.

**Associational Assimilation.** By Robert Saxelby Alcock, M.A., Ph.D., St. John's College, Cambridge.

**213** The tendency to divorce nationality, religion and culture from the conception of race among mankind has provided a simple explanation for the wide differences which are to be found within one of the above groupings. For example, it becomes possible to understand the heterogeneity of the Jews and the extremes among the German-speaking peoples. But in the readiness to accept this conception of 'race,' there is a tendency to overlook the fact that, within these groups, there does exist a very real homogeneity, which begins to demand an explanation as soon as it is robbed of its 'racial' foundation.

Within a nation there is a common language, and there is no doubt that the facial expression characteristic of the German, for instance, is due to some extent to the demands of the language upon the muscles. It is also easy to be led astray, in making casual observations of people, into believing there is a national characteristic where the main distinguishing feature is something entirely superficial, such as the cut of the clothes. There are also peculiarities which take their rise in the particular educational systems of the individual countries, as well as in the forms of family life.

All these, and probably many other factors of a like nature, are operating to produce the 'German Type,' the 'American Type,' and so on. But there is, at the same time, a factor which is generally unrecognized and, even where suspected, generally ignored. To this factor, I would give the name 'Associational Assimilation,'<sup>2</sup> using the phrase to signify the tendency which exists among animals, and in particular among human beings, to grow to resemble those with whom they are in contact. The phenomenon is bounded on the one hand by hereditary resemblances, and on the other by the results of conscious emulation. Between these two there is a definite tendency for contact to produce likeness.

It is to be seen among human beings in various circumstances. Old married couples, especially childless ones, grow to resemble one another to a greater degree than the common sexual neutralization from the climacteric would account for. Approximations of this sort among children are very common, though more evanescent, and even where the urge to approximate is operating as well, the process can be seen at work in features beyond the reach of conscious control.

Occupational peculiarities present themselves as evidence: the individual seems to take over something of the animals he works with—the shepherd, the cow-herd, the groom; while such types as the schoolmaster and the nun may owe their individuality to the same process. Pet animals of a household may be observed, at times, to adopt family traits; while the converse, the assimilation of old ladies and others reliant for companionship upon some lap-dog, parrot, or other pet, to this animal, is certainly more than popular superstition. Whether the appearance of butchers and fishmongers is

<sup>1</sup> For general account, see V. C. H.; Yorks, I, 378 ff.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the spelling of "Assimilation," I have adopted the archaic form in order to avoid

confusion with the other meaning of assimilation, which would carry with it the implication of cultural absorption.



to be included must at any rate be considered; the resemblance is frequently striking, and tests of the validity of the whole conception could readily be performed by submitting a group of selected workers to the judgment of a strange jury.

It must be admitted that these phenomena are all vague and ill-defined, even open to question possibly; and the still more revolutionary suggestion that resemblances within a family may be due to some extent to the same cause, although having foundation, must await the establishment of the whole thesis before presentation. It is, however, possible to include much more well-defined phenomena under the head. The first of these is animal mimicry, and, in this case, the changes would seem to have become sufficiently deep-rooted as to have formed their own genes. Associational assimilation would be the initiating machinery—the phenomenon we observe at the present day is a matter of heredity.

Another example is that of the influences of the mother upon the developing foetus. It is not possible to discount as pure superstition all the examples of direct somatic transference of either acquired characters or of peculiarities referable to some psychological shock or disturbance. And the same machinery which projects the likeness of one person upon another may also project, from the mother's psychic make-up, the results of an upheaval in quite as specific a manner. And this being so, the phenomenon being admitted for manifestations of an abnormal character, it becomes clear that the whole of the child's personality is influenced and conditioned by the psychological state of the mother during that part of the gestation period when the child is receptive.

The question of varying receptivity should also be mentioned in connection with the phenomenon in adults. It is clear that some people withstand such influences entirely, while others absorb readily. As far as can be seen, the differences are not correlated with differences in the lability of the nerve synapses, with intellectual, or even psychic, receptivity.

The application to the national and racial problem becomes clear. It is obvious, for instance, why a Jew, racially associated with the Semites or Phœnicians, and speaking German, is none the less strongly Magyarized through living in Hungary. He is unmistakably a Hungarian Jew. Perhaps the question could be most readily studied in Hungary, where there exists a strong element known to be racially individual. A French child is surrounded by French influence all his life, so that, apart from the effects of the language, he has the francizing influence of his French mother, nurse, etc. The whole national characteristic has been insulated gradually for centuries, and by now, undoubtedly, represents something real and individual. America should afford a fruitful field for study, for, apart from patches which must be looked upon as isolated pieces of Spain, Italy, Poland, and the now hypothetical home of the American Negro, there exists an American type—a product of American culture—undoubtedly a product of an already established American 'influence' which is producing out of the motley association of people who have drifted and bred there during the last three centuries something as homogeneous, at least, as Hitler's Aryan Germany, or the Scottish nation.

It may be asked: supposing this phenomenon has any reality; what is its mechanism? There is no answer at present. The facts are there, and await an explanation, which will doubtless be forthcoming when our studies of personality and individuality have gone farther. Maybe the psychologist, with his weapon of telepathy, could say something about it, or it may be necessary to rely upon the discredited psychic scientist. It is more than likely that, in individual cases, the change is largely one of endocrine balance, and the approach to the human type of an animal, or *vice versa*, may be but the approximation to the other's endocrine make-up. This conception may find an echo in the Totem principle; the primitive man is ever sensitive to trends and tendencies in this way. We may disbelieve the Circe's Palace legend, but we must remark the human hypothyroid type in the sheep, an animal upon whom thyroidectomy in the adult has little influence. Examples could be multiplied.

But referring the changes to the endocrines is in no way explaining the phenomenon; it is throwing it back one stage, and what it is that affects the endocrines in this way still remains a mystery. In any case, the endocrine effect would not provide any explanation for the maternal influences upon the foetus, or for the mimicry.

To summarize: there would appear to be a tendency for one animal, and particularly one human, when placed in contact with another, to grow to resemble it or him. This is to be seen operating among individual humans in occupations involving animals, or groups of humans, and between humans and

individual animals. It may be at the basis of animal mimicry, and afford an explanation for the specific influences sometimes exerted by the mother upon the unborn young. It is adduced as an important factor in the building up of national character, and as accounting for many features suggestive of common race, to be found among associated people of widely differing ancestry. R. S. ALCOCK.

Newell.

The Cross-legged Posture. By A. N. Newell, University of Leeds.

**214** Seven years ago, Mr. A. M. Hocart, in 'Methods of Sitting' (MAN, 1927, 66), showed, by numerous examples, that the so-called 'Mongolian seat' (sitting cross-legged tailor-fashion) "has nothing to do with the Mongolians, but is a highly conventional way of sitting originally used for ceremonies." Despite this lapse of time, it may still interest him to be reminded of another parallel instance; for this posture was also a favourite one in ancient Gaul. Strabo<sup>1</sup> and Diodorus<sup>2</sup> both inform us that the Gauls used no chairs when having their meals, but sat on the ground, a custom which almost enforces a squatting attitude. It is, moreover, perhaps this custom which influenced the iconography of a great Celtic deity.



FIG. 1. ALTAR OF REIMS.

For one of the most remarkable of all Celtic deities is the 'Dieu accroupi'—the cross-legged deity who, in the well known Altar of Reims, for example, is seen (Fig. 1) seated between Mercury and Apollo,<sup>3</sup> showing traces of the antlers he frequently wears; while he again appears with three heads in the unique statuette of Autun (cf. my illustrated article on 'Gallo-Roman Religious Sculpture' in the current issue of *Greece and Rome*, February, 1934). The origin of his cross-legged posture has caused much debate, and both Buddhist and Egyptian influence (Imhotep) have been suggested. But although the religious iconography of India does, in fact, present a parallel example to that of Gaul of a divine tricephal seated cross-legged,<sup>4</sup> yet the passages from Strabo and Diodorus show that the posture itself was an old Celtic custom, and there is no reason to turn to Egypt or India to explain why the Celtic deity sat in the manner of his worshippers. Mr. Hocart, indeed, would presumably say that the Celts themselves sat in this manner because "like all customs it has been carried about" (*l.c.*), but surely

the independent discovery (and perpetuation) of the cross-legged posture is as likely as the 'diffusion' of such an attitude?

If, however, Mr. Hocart be right, and this attitude was, in fact, 'diffused,' then another topic which has already been broached by Mr. F. W. H. Migeod and Professor H. J. Rose (MAN, 1924, 118; 1925, 7) presents itself, namely, the early connexion between Egypt and India, suggested by Philostratus in his life of Apollonius of Tyana (III, 20), for both countries possess a deity seated cross-legged. Nor is this possibility weakened on finding the identical posture in the art of intervening Bactria and Mesopotamia.<sup>5</sup>

But this same attitude, common to the monuments of Gaul, Egypt, Sumeria, Bactria, and India (in which we may include the Buddhist sculpture of China and Japan), occurs again in the art of

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, IV, 3: "And even now the majority lie on the ground, and have their meals sitting on straw." (χαμηνουσι δὲ καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ πολλοὶ καθεζόμενοι δειπνοῦσιν ἐν στιβάζει.)

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus, V, 28: "And they all have their meals, sitting not on chairs, but on the ground, using the skins of wolves or dogs as a litter." (δειπνοῦσι δὲ καθήμενοι πάντες οὐκ ἐπὶ θρόνων ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ γῆς, ὑποστρώμασι

χρώμενοι λύκων ἢ κυνῶν δέρμασι.)

<sup>3</sup> M. le Commandant Espérandieu: *Recueil général des Bas-reliefs, Statues, et Bustes de la Gaule romaine*, Vol. V, 3,653. 10 vols., 1907-1928.

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. archéol.*, 1880, II, p. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Bactrian Coins (*Rev. archéol.*, 1881, I, p. 193); Sumerian Sculpture of Mesopotamia (MAN, Jan., 1925, Plate A).

widely-scattered regions. For not only do we find the cross-legged pose in Mexico, on the monuments of Yucatan; in the Belgian Congo, amongst the Bushongo tribe; in Jutland, on the famous silver caldron of Gundestrup; in Cyprus; in Greek terracottas of Asia Minor; but in the British Isles also it turns up again. In the British Museum (Room of Roman Britain) is a delightful but too little known bronze statuette, a photograph of which is here (Fig. 2) published for the first time, representing the feminine consort of the Gallo-Roman 'dieu accroupi' (Fig. 1), seated cross-legged, wearing antlers, and carrying a patera and cornucopia. In Ireland, finally, the 'Sheela-na-Gig' reproduces the same attitude.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, the 'Sheela-na-Gigs' of Celtic Ireland, seated thus cross-legged, raise the further intriguing question, which perhaps has not before been raised, whether they are not a late survival of an Irish deity parallel to the Celtic 'dieu accroupi' of ancient Gaul. This seems no unreasonable hypothesis, and is strengthened by the analogy that, just as the cross-legged deity of Gaul was also a tricephal, so also the 'Sheela-na-Gig' (but now in England, at Hexham) is graced with three heads. (MAN, 1929, Plate 11, fig. 1.)

In conclusion, it may be suggested that the questions which have arisen, in supplying Mr. Hocart with a further example, in ancient Gaul, of the so-called Mongolian seat, are not unworthy of consideration.

Mr. Hocart, in his letter (*l.c.*), says that he has seen the second Tongan method of sitting (*i.e.*, with one knee on the other foot, and one foot on the other knee) in Indian sculpture, adding "though I cannot lay my hands on an example." For a good illustration of this particular pose in Gallo-Roman religious imagery, I would refer him to the most interesting illustrated article by M. Héron de Villefosse in *Mémoires des Antiquaires de France* (1913), pp. 244-275, on 'Le dieu gaulois accroupi de Bouray (Seine-et-Oise).'

A. N. NEWELL.



FIG. 2. ROMANO-BRITISH STATUETTE IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

By courtesy of the British Museum.

## PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

**Congrès Préhistorique de France. Onzième Session, Périgueux, 1934.** By M. C. Burkiitt, F.S.A.

As the representative of the Royal Anthropological Institute at the recent session of the *Société Préhistorique de France*, which was held at Périgueux, it is incumbent upon me to make some report. The organization of M. Schleicher, the general secretary of the society and of the local committee was excellent and the meeting, which was attended by between 100 and 150 persons, was therefore a great success.

The session opened in the theatre at Périgueux on the afternoon of Sunday, 16th September. So commendably brief was this meeting (and so different from some opening meetings it has been my fate to attend), at which the Mayor of Périgueux and officers of the Society made welcoming speeches,

that there was ample time for a visit to the almost unique Byzantine church and other local antiquities before going on to the important museum. In the evening there was a reception at the Mairie. The town authorities indeed did all that they could for the comfort of the congressists, although had they arranged that the museum would be open to members whenever there was a spare half-hour, they would have made their hospitality even more complete. Its firmly-closed doors were rather baffling to the keen prehistorian.

On Monday morning work began in earnest and a start was made upon the enormous number of papers (68 or more!) which were offered. There were also, of course, exhibits to examine and discuss. In the afternoon a number of local gravels and the classic site of Raymond (Chancelade)

<sup>1</sup> Mexico (*Rev. archéol.*, 1865, I, p. 494); Belgian Congo (MAN, 1910, 1; 1925, Dec., 115, Pl. M); Jutland, Gundestrup caldron (*Greece and Rome*, *l.c.*); Cyprus and Asia Minor (S. Reinach: *Bronzes figures de la Gaule romaine*, p. 191, fig. 4); Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*. Oxford, 1899. Nos. 5112-35; Myres, *Handbook to the Cesnola Collection*. New York, 1915. Pp. 186-8, Nos. 1204-22; *Brit. Mus. statuette* (S. Reinach: *Rép. Stat.*, III, p. 79; Courcelle-Seneuil: *Les Dieux gaulois*, p. 183); Irish 'Sheela-na-Gigs' (MAN, Jan., 1931, 4, fig. 2; Feb., 1932, 49, fig. 3).



were visited, as well as the abbey at the latter place. In the evening, Professor Breuil gave an important lecture on his latest ideas relative to the cave and home art.

On Tuesday a long day's excursion by bus started at 7.30 a.m. Halting at Badegoule (first seriously dug as long ago as 1860), Serjeac, where congressists were themselves allowed to 'dig,' and Le Moustier, Les Eyzies was reached for lunch—a perfect banquet. Thus fortified we climbed up to the museum, and afterwards continued the bus excursion, seeing the sculptures at Cap Blanc and the famous site of La Madeleine on the way home.

On Wednesday more papers occupied the morning and visits to sites near the town the afternoon. These included a Roman camp and a Neolithic sepulchral cave of the Marne type. In the evening, in the course of two lantern lectures, the first with cinematograph as well, M. St. Just Péquart described the extraordinary Mesolithic burials he has been excavating at Hoëdic (Morbihan), and Dr. Absolon some new finds of Upper Palaeolithic objects, including 'Venuses' (but one is masculine!) from Dolni Visternitz in Moravia.

Thursday's excursion included visits to Limeuil, Soucy, La Gravette, Jean-Blancs, Combe-Capelle, another *déjeuner* (= banquet) at Monpazier, a mediaeval walled town founded by Edward I of England and but little changed since, a marvellous drive up the Dordogne valley with its Danube-like scenery of castles perched on commanding rocky precipices and a tour of Sarlat, one of the most picturesque mediaeval towns of the country. The whole trip was a matter of 150 miles or so!

On Friday the papers were finally disposed of in the morning and the afternoon's excursion was more local. It began with visits to a Magdalenian and Azilian 'dig' at La Peyzie (Commune de Lisle), the dolmen of Paussac-Saint-Vivien and the excavation at La Tabaterie, continued with a tour of the Château de Bourdeilles and a further couple of sites—the cave of Bernous where some Palaeolithic sculptures occur, and Fourneau du Diable whence some others have been removed to the museum at Les Eyzies—and finished up with the town of Brantôme and another dolmen, the party finally reaching home at about 9 p.m. Almost at once a lecture by M. Reygasse on the Central Sahara claimed the attention of Congressists, who finally got to bed at about 12.30 a.m.

However, undaunted, on Saturday morning at 7.30 everyone rose up and started for Les Eyzies, where La Micoque, Laugerie Haute, Laugerie Basse, La Grotte du Grand Roc and the Gorge d'Enfer

were visited before lunch, which was the usual feast, eaten this time actually in the home of the original Cro-Magnon man. Then came visits to the important caves of Font-de-Gaume, Combarelles and La Vache. Both Professor Breuil and M. Peyrony were showing off the first of these, and in the others noble and efficient guides also remained for hours underground to show the uninitiated where to find the drawings. On our return to Périgueux was the last 'banquet-du-clôture du Congrès,' this time official, and our train departed at 11.30 p.m. the same night.

But it was a most enjoyable as well as instructive Congress, and one wonders if we could not have such a meeting in England. Why should not the R.A.I. and P.S.E.A. get together and organize such an outing? Captain Pitt-Rivers held a private meeting a few years ago near Farnham, which was attended by a number of students and professional prehistorians and was a very great success. But why not a more extended effort?

In the meanwhile it only remains for me to tender thanks to all French friends who made our stay so agreeable and profitable, and to the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute for permitting me to represent them at Périgueux. M. C. BURKITT.

#### Institute of Anthropology of the Free Church College, Edinburgh.

**216** The Senatus of the Free Church College, Edinburgh, realizing the value of science as a necessary part of any broadly based training in Divinity and sensible of the special importance of acquaintance with the comprehensive subject of Anthropology for attaining a suitable equipment in that department, have arranged for the provision of a course in Anthropological study with which will be associated the Museum which formed part of the department of Natural Science.

This result has been achieved as a consequence of negotiations between the Senatus and the Council of the Scottish Anthropological Society. These bodies jointly have decided to establish a Standing Committee for Anthropological Teaching; a series of Courses in Anthropology; a Certificate and Diploma in Anthropology; and the College Department of Anthropology as the Institute for teaching and research recognized by the Council of the Scottish Anthropological Society and the "Standing Committee for Anthropological Teaching."

Lectures are announced in General Anthropology (Mr. G. R. Gair, *Director*), Social Anthropology (Professor H. J. Rose), Technology (Mr. R. Kerr), Applied Anthropology (Mr. J. B. I. Mackay), Folklore (Dr. Åke Campbell).

### REVIEWS.

#### AMERICA: SOUTH

**Rebel Destiny: Among the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana.** By Melville J. Herskovits

**217** and Frances S. Herskovits. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1934.

xvii + 366 pp., 15 illustrations, glossary, linguistic notes, and index.

Herskovits.

It is said: 'If a person stirs up a hole, he will find what is in it.' This Bush Negro proverb used as a motto gives us the rather humorous conviction that the 'hole' Surinam was worth well stirring up by such a curious, learned and interested couple as Dr. and Mrs. Herskovits. They undertook two field trips to Dutch Guiana, in 1928 and 1929, in the

company of Dr. Morton C. Kahn, M.D., to whom they owed their initiation into the life of the tropics and many memories of congenial travel together; and who (if I am well informed) succeeded in keeping them free from the dangerous Bush Negro malaria. They conducted ethnological work among the Saramacca tribe of Bush Negroes, and the Negroes of the coastal region of Surinam, as a portion of an investigation into the physical and cultural characteristics of the Negroes of the New World. Their research, which is still in progress, has included field work in the United States, in Dutch Guiana, and in Africa, and some comparative study in the islands of the Caribbean, especially Haiti. It began in 1923 with an inquiry into Negro-White crossing in the United States, and as the work progressed it became evident that the problem demanded more knowledge of the sources of the slaves who compose the Negro ancestry of the American Negroes than was available. This knowledge was sought in a comparison of Negro cultures in the New World and in Africa. As the research continued, it became apparent that the scientific problem of the Negro in the New World has implications of large significance. The Negroes came of various West African stocks and mingled their blood with European peoples who became their masters, and they absorbed in varying degrees the culture of these masters.

The book describes scenes in the lives of the Bush Negroes, living in isolation in the interior of Dutch Guiana. These Negroes are the descendants of runaway slaves imported from Africa, who took refuge in the dense Guiana bush and established African villages along the rivers, whose rapids are their fortifications. The importance of the Bush Negroes for the student of Negro cultures is, that they live and think to-day as did their ancestors who established themselves in this bush in the seventeenth century and later. In the Guiana bush the fortunes of African kingdoms, the cultural contacts that have affected the Africans, have not touched their own tribal destinies. Neither has the civilization of the white man, nor that of the Indian, introduced basic changes into their manner of living or thinking. The Bush Negroes are a living museum, indeed a museum in open air, in grand scenery, and full of vigour of life, of past African civilizations, such as will be found nowhere in the world.

At the beginning of their field work in Surinam, Dr. Herskovits went up the Surinam river to study the Bush Negroes, and his wife remained in Paramaribo to collect folk-lore from the town Negroes and to ascertain what Africanisms could be discerned in their beliefs and behaviour. Striking things came to light, for bush and town Negroes were, as evidence in hand suggested, much more closely allied culturally than had been realized.

The book is not an ethnographic treatise. The scientific discussion of the data will appear in monograph form, while the correspondences between bush and town Negroes, and between these and other Negro groups found in the New World, are included in a memoir on the folklore of the town Negroes of Paramaribo which is now in press.

The work has been accomplished with the co-operation of many persons, so the authors say; they acknowledge their gratitude to Professor Frank Boas and Dr. Elsie Clew Parsons (to whom the book is dedicated), whose interest and scholarly advice have stimulated work in the problem, to the North-Western University to whom Dr. Herskovits belongs, and to many others. Their first thanks, however, are to the native informants and friends who have given them their material, and it is with regret that, except in the case of that remarkable personality, the late Headman Moana Yankuso, they must acknowledge their indebtedness to their Saramacca friends without naming them, and they do so out of the regard they have for them, and in recognition of the manner in which life is lived in the bush. In view of the political factions on the river, and their concern lest these make capital of the fact that a village had been generous in the confidences given to the whites, several villages do not appear under their own names. Nothing has been included in descriptive detail, in the spoken or unspoken thoughts attributed to a Bush Negro, or in characterization, which has not been given to the authors by their Bush Negro informants or been witnessed by themselves.

The work is full of humour. "White woman, you ought to cover your knees, too, when you sit," was one of the first lessons given by a Bush Negro woman of some age to her young white sister. "You must have so much wealth," the same said to the white man, looking about her at the provision boxes of her guests, "you must have many wives."

The titles of the chapters characterize the whole work. They are: "Death at Gankwe," "While the River was High," "On the Saramacca River," "Kunu," "The Shrine of the River Gods," "The Provision Ground," "Ba Anansi," "Parents, Children and Grandchildren," "A Night at S'ei," "At the Court of the Granman," "The Council of the Elders," "Women at Work," "The Gods Speak," "Granman Moana Yankuso," "The Artist of Ma' Lobbi." L. C. VAN PANHUY. Loevestein Castle.

**New Light on the Most Ancient East.** By V. Gordon Childe. London: Kegan Paul, 1934. xviii + 326 pp., 32 plates, 1 map, 102 illustrations. 15s. **218**

As the heading will show, this new version of the author's previous work, 'The Most Ancient East,' 1928, is considerably larger (see the review in MAN, 1928, 66); it is a cause of congratulation that in spite of the enlargement the price remains the same.

There is little change in the Egyptian section of the book, for discoveries of importance in the prehistoric period have been few since the publication of the earlier version; this section has accordingly received little attention in proportion to that given to Mesopotamia and its Asiatic neighbours. In this region discoveries have been so plentiful that the chapters from chapter VI onwards are largely new, in treatment as in matter; they form an indispensable guide for the student of early civilizations.

The book is avowedly meant to serve as an introduction to the study of the origins of European civilization and to enable workers in the European field to see their



special problems in a clearer perspective (p. 301), but it serves further as a sound compendium of archaeological results, especially because the author has travelled far to make a personal examination of many of the objects described. These are so plentiful that their treatment in a restricted space may prove rather confusing to the inexpert, who may feel that, with this thick undergrowth around him, he may miss a good deal of the wide view that he would like. Yet many perspectives are offered and the actual material handled provides a regular quarry for the student, the richer for the wealth of really useful references, brought up to date.

With regard to Egypt, Sethe's most ingenious theory, founded on the piecing together of many scattered archaeological fragments, is still recorded as holding the field; a passing mention is made of Junker's linguistic remarks, but the objections raised by Kees in 'Horus und Seth als Götterpaar' are not noticed; these are of real importance, even though one may not accept all his general theories. From a common-sense point of view it might be suggested that there was more than one Falcon Clan in Egypt, one forming the nucleus of the victorious people who subjected the Delta to their own Upper country and another, much more insignificant, in the Delta, with its centre where Damanhour now stands. Again, the evidence of southern influence on Egyptian culture is not given sufficient weight; it becomes much more intelligible if we place the origin of the Falcon Clan, as many authorities do, in Upper Egypt. Another remark of the same kind concerns Sethe's interpretation of the Egyptians' regard for the south as the principal point of the compass (p. 9). He would account for this by the supposition that the intrusive Semitic element came from the north and advanced southwards; but surely the migrants would most honour the point whence they came, their home and that of their ancestors, and not the dim unknown to which they were pressing—or being pressed; in fact that is the mental attitude of known migrants of semi-barbarous culture in historical times. We should accordingly conclude rather that the south was honoured as the original home of this intrusive element which brought a higher culture to the land. But such considerations are perhaps unnecessary, for in two other Semitic languages, Arabic and Hebrew, the verbal root for the right hand is the same as for the south, and also means 'prosperous,' the right (Hebr. 'the strong one') being the lucky side, while the word for left denotes, not the west as in ancient Egypt, but the north; the east is taken from the rising sun—in Hebrew there is a second name meaning 'that which faces one,' the right hand being towards the south. When we reflect that to the ancient Greeks the right hand was also the lucky one, and that the augurs faced the north, thus making good omens come from the east, whereas the augurs of the Romans, a cognate people, looked south (Liv. i, 18) and good omens therefore came from the left (Plin. ii, 55), we find it difficult in all this medley to see a true justification for Sethe's etymological inferences.

On the whole the weight of evidence is with the authorities who consider that the final and happy unification of the country had its impulse from the south—a point of some importance for the history of cultural movements in prehistoric times.

A few smaller points may be noticed. On p. 72 the terra-cotta captives with hands bound behind them are generally held to be of the 12th Dynasty and not prehistoric. P. 93: the 'bulls' head' amulets should probably be attributed to cows, the symbols of the early great national goddess, Hathor ('Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,' vol. xv, p. 38). P. 185: further evidence of

mercantile colonies settling in foreign countries may be seen in the Mesopotamian cylinders found in Egypt, of which some have been described by the late Professor Sayce in the 'Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology,' vol. xxxiii, pp. 259-60, and by Mr. Sidney Smith in the 'Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,' vol. vii, pp. 207, ff. P. 9: the *sed* festival is once again explained as a magical identification of the king with Osiris, whereas Dr. Alan Gardiner pointed out long ago ('Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,' vol. ii, pp. 124, ff.) that it was the dead king who was identified with Osiris, while the living one was always 'the Living Horus.' It seems that the *sed-heb* was really a ceremony for the reinvigoration and reconsecration of the king, in which, as Professor Newberry has pointed out, the assistance of his women-folk was required. P. 286: foundation deposits are not foreign to Egypt, but have been found there; examples have been published by Petrie in 'Six Temples of Thebes,' pp. 3-5, 13-17, 29, and accompanying plates, also in 'Koptos,' pp. 13-14.

With regard to Ur, it was very natural that on the discovery of the great tombs, with all their riches and the terrible scenes of slaughter that they concealed, they should be considered as royal, with the king's retinue killed that they might accompany him to the Other-world. But another explanation was presented by Mr. Sidney Smith, and the point is still under discussion—a matter to which attention should have been drawn. Another material omission is that of Caucasian archaeology with its evident connections with that of Sumer, in arms as in art; the importance of the analogies will be emphasized by the recent finds of Sir Flinders Petrie at Gaza.

A slip on p. 13 of both versions may be pointed out: the first publication of Mr. Brunton's results at Badari appeared in 1927, and 'Badarian Civilization' was published in 1928, so that reference to the inavailability of the results to the public was incorrect.

Lastly, a word to the publisher. If the notes are to be massed together at the end of the book, under the numbers of chapters, those numbers should be printed at the head of the pages in addition to the title of the chapter; this arrangement would greatly facilitate quick reference from the text to the notes. G. D. H.

#### Les Pygmées de la Forêt Equatoriale. By R.-P. Trilles.

Paris: Bloud and Gay. 1932. xiv + 530 pp.

219 "The further back one goes in the history of the human race, the more one finds that man, far from evolving progressively, received at the outset a whole system of doctrines, a rule of life and of morality, from which little by little, to a greater or less extent in different races whose existence has been dominated by different circumstances, he has gone astray." This sentence from the final conclusions of Father Trilles' account of the Pygmies, indicates the spirit in which he made his study of the almost inaccessible tribes into whose fastnesses he succeeded in penetrating. His affection for his "little friends," his zeal to demonstrate their superiority in all respects over the neighbouring Bantu, invite the reader's sympathy—above all when he warmly defends their method of avenging murder—but when allied with a hypothesis as to the nature of religion which has its origin in dogma rather than in empiric observation, they detract somewhat from the scientific value of the book. Take, for example, the analysis of the ceremony at the New Moon. This is described as "a dance of imploring prayer, of supplication to obtain those fruits of the earth which are necessary for daily life," in which "there is no idea of forcing the moon by magical means to favour their desires, as is the case with the Bantu." The

impartial reader will ask if the difference is really one of more than form.

This preoccupation determines, too, the order in which the material is presented; religion, mythology, folklore, science and art follow immediately upon the description of the Pygmies' physical characteristics and precede any account of everyday life. "Social and moral life" again is separated from "economic and political life." The former chapter consists almost entirely in accounts of the various ceremonies through which an individual passes, with only a page on the education of children and half a page on the marriage relationship; while the section on economics includes an elaborate and extremely interesting inventory of articles of diet, animal and vegetable, but almost nothing on the organisation of such group activities as elephant-hunting, which involves moving a log of wood weighing up to 800 kilos, or the women's occupation, catching fish by means of damming the rivers. Of political life we are told that the village is moved when a chief dies, that the chief has the right to a share of all game killed, though not what his share is, that he performs certain ceremonies before his people go to war; but we never hear on what principle he holds his position or what is the nature of his authority, even whether he presides over the trials by ordeal which are mentioned in the course of the discussion on magic.

This book will be useful, therefore, to students of language, folklore and mythology rather than to social anthropologists. The number of myths, songs, stories and proverbs collected is very large, and many of them show real imagination and poetic feeling. The whole book is written with a vividness of style and genuine love for the subject which makes it better reading than many anthropological treatises.

L. P. MAIR.

#### OCEANIA.

**In Wild New Britain. The Story of Benjamin Danks, pioneer missionary.** Edited by W. Deane. Sydney, Australia. Angus & Robertson, 1933. Price 6s. **220**

The Rev. D. Banks, of the Methodist Mission, was the first missionary to settle on New Britain, though Dr. Brown, of the same mission, was already settled near by on Duke of York island. Dr. Brown's story has been told before, and in 'Wild New Britain' Mr. Danks's story, gathered from the pages of his diary, is told by his son-in-law. One hardly knows whom to admire most in the recital of the doings of the brave people who began the work of the Methodist Mission in the New Britain area, the white men, or the white women, or the earnest and courageous native teachers from Fiji or Samoa or Tonga who accompanied them, and without whose efforts the work could not have been done. One can save one's pity for the white men concerned, but it is really moving, reading between the lines, when one thinks of what their wives endured in the early days. And since the Mission demanded that a man be married, if his wife died, as so many of them did, the man had to marry again in order to be allowed to stay on at his work. And what is one to say of the courage of the native assistants, men and women—for these went as married couples as well? No crusade was needed to get them to volunteer for the work, the difficulty seems to have been to make a choice among those who offered, though some of the original ones who accompanied Dr. Brown had been killed and eaten by cannibals.

In the New Britain area, as well as in the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides, the passions of the native peoples were aroused by the distribution and sale of firearms, and by disturbances connected with the unrestrained and unregulated recruiting of natives for work elsewhere. The German occupation of the

Bismarck Archipelago put an end to the recruiting there, and so prevented the wholesale excesses which occurred in the Solomons and New Hebrides until nearly the beginning of this century.

The peoples of New Britain lived in much larger communities than those of the Solomon Islands, and while the early evangelistic work among them was thus made more easy, yet the concentration of the peoples caused them to suffer very considerably from the imported diseases and sicknesses, e.g., measles and influenza, which followed the coming of ships.

Mr. Danks showed considerable skill both as an engineer and fitter, repairing and running a steam launch, and also as a linguist. He describes his joy when he made the discovery that nouns were formed in the language by means of infixes.

There is a certain amount of matter in the book dealing with anthropology. He describes the village markets; the custom of 'selling women,' i.e., the conduct of the betrothal and marriage ceremonies, which he endeavoured to put an end to, actuated both by Christian feelings and by notions of 'women's rights'; the practice of the diviner who was engaged to discover a thief; the ceremonies accompanying the funerals of great chiefs; a native battle; the cutting up and sale of human bodies for food. Mention is made of the *dukduk*, but we are not told much about it.

Like St. Paul, Mr. Danks was 'in journeyings often,' and some of his sea journeys involved him and his party in considerable danger. He and his helpers suffered much for Christ. The book is well worth reading; but a map would have been a help.

WALTER IVENS.

**Life in Lesu. The Study of a Melanesian Society in New Ireland.** By Hortense Powdermaker. London: Williams and Norgate, Ltd., 1933. **221**  
349 pp. Price 15s. net.

In this work, Dr. Powdermaker presents the results of ten-and-a-half months' field-work in New Ireland carried out under the auspices of the Australian National Research Council.

In the publication of the results of any field research, anthropologists are faced with two tasks: one is to give the reader a clear picture of the culture studied, and the other is to offer an interpretation of such ethnographic data in terms of the general laws which regulate human behaviour. In the first of these tasks, Dr. Powdermaker has been remarkably successful. One feels that she has thoroughly understood the native point of view, and has been able to impart much of this understanding to the reader. Her natives are human beings and not culturally-driven automata, while her keen appreciation and delineation of the realities of their psychic lives (one thinks particularly of her vivid description of Ongas' reaction to his wife's illness, pp. 253-255) should provide an adequate answer to those who deny that the experiences of the native (as opposed to his overt 'reaction-patterns') are profitable subjects for anthropological study.

Turning from the records of ethnographic data to Dr. Powdermaker's theoretical interpretations, one cannot but feel a certain sense of disappointment. In general, she does not proceed beyond the application of existing theories to the material in hand, while there is practically no attempt to treat her data comparatively. This may be due to the fact that method in social science tends to follow a sort of Hegelian dialectic. Traditional anthropology has followed the procedure of collecting from all over the world and discharging as from a tip-dray a mass of customs such as marriagebycapture and motherinlawavoidance wrenched from the various cultural contexts in which they occur,

and as a reaction against this functional anthropologists have tended to concentrate upon the meticulous analysis of individual cultures. But the ultimate value of anthropology must necessarily be derived from the employment of the comparative method. To treat each culture individually as an integrated phenomenon is necessary, but only as a means to an end, and to stop here is to isolate the particular society from the wider context of human civilization in which it occurs.

This tendency as manifested in 'Life in Lesu' is particularly regrettable, because the authoress' original observations on theoretical problems (consigned in many cases to footnotes) suggest that she is fully capable of appreciating the wider implications of her field material. For example, one would welcome her analysis of the vitally important psychological problem of jealousy (p. 252 n.), while an elaboration of her incidental remarks on culture contact should prove of considerable scientific and practical value, especially in view of Mr. W. C. Groves' recent studies of this specific problem in New Ireland. But one must remember that the scope of a work of this kind is necessarily limited, and it is even possible that lengthy theoretical digressions might have obscured that vivid picture of cultural realities which Dr. Powdermaker has given us and which so amply justifies the title which she has chosen for her book.

RALPH PIDDINGTON.

**A Grammar of the Kiwai Language, Fly Delta, Papua.** By S. H. Ray, Port Moresby, Papua. Government Printer, 1934. Pp. 173.

**222** Students of linguistics will be greatly indebted to Mr. Ray for the first intensive study of the grammar of a western Papuan language. His analysis occupies 72 pages, nearly 40 of them being devoted to a highly complicated verb system. There are 4 pages of colloquial phrases, and the remainder of the book is given to the full Kiwai-English and English-Kiwai vocabularies

built up by the late E. B. Riley, whose help, extending through many years of correspondence, is warmly acknowledged by the author.

The grammar and vocabulary will be of practical as well as scientific interest. The Kiwai-speaking tribes form an important part of the population of the territory, and a book such as this will be an invaluable help to those of the European and native races who wish to gain a better understanding of one another respectively. From the point of view of practical usefulness it is a matter for congratulation that an expert has found it possible to deal with his subject without resorting to any elaborate system of phonetic symbols. F. E. W.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

**Life in the Making.** By Alan Frank Guttmacher. London: Jarrolds, 1934. 288 pp., 8 figs. Price 10s. 6d.

**223** This book, by an American medical author, is redolent both of ancient lore and recent discovery on the subject of human procreation. It is divided into twenty-one chapters grouped into six parts, the topics treated including How life begins, Sexual rhythms, Sex hormones and castration, Sex determination, Sterility and Twins. While the human animal is the main concern, sexual conditions in the Primates are also considered, and in connection with such topics as hormones and sex, the experimental work with many other animals is frequently referred to. The mating habits of the fur seal, testicular grafting and artificial insemination are among the topics treated. The chapters on twins include not only the most recent work of Newman, Muller, Verschuer and others on heredity in identical twins reared apart, but a full account of the original Siamese twins and a shorter statement regarding the similar Biddenden maids, born in Kent in the year 1100. The work is popularly written by an author who is evidently at home with his subject. It might be described as an up-to-date account of the biology of human reproduction. R. R. G.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### Africa: Piles of Stones.

**224** SIR,—In view of recent correspondence on the above subject the attached notes from the East Loangwa Province of N. Rhodesia may be of interest. My informants were reliable natives: Headman Ngicitalangwa, Chewa native, and Sasare Mesleke, Ngoni native. The Tribes are the Angoni, Achewa and Ansenga.

(a) "If you are on a long journey, late in the afternoon if you are still a long way from your destination you pick up a stone and put it in the fork of a tree, any kind of tree, at the same time saying, 'Sun do not set until I have reached my destination.' This is done because we believe that the sun will listen and will set slowly."

(b) *The Chewa 'Kusopa' Custom.*—When a person has died, the relatives shave their heads, they put a band round the forehead of bark, plaited grass or a strip of calico, this is the mourning band. After one or two months (Chewa) one or two years (Ngoni) they cook a large quantity of beer in the village of the deceased.

The relatives of the deceased person then proceed with their hoes to a Msolo tree, near the trunk they dig a hole, they then remove the mourning bands which they place in the hole at the bottom. The *mwini maliro* then takes a small pot of beer, which has been carried from the village, and pours it into the hole on top of the bands. The relatives of the deceased then proceed to fill up the hole; when this is done the *mwini maliro* proceeds to

knock a hole or crack in the beer-pot which he puts on the mound, the people then stand by whilst he only covers the mound with stones; when he has finished all the relatives *kupapata* to the mound saying: "Rest well so and so, and do not return and worry our children, all of us present must return and drink the Maliro beer without troublesome or quarrelsome hearts."

They then get up, the *mwini maliro* remains standing with his back to the mound whilst the people proceed back to the village, when he silently follows without looking back.

They proceed to the beer hut in the village, on arrival they sit outside. The people who remained in the village and did not go to the *kusopa* will greet those returning people by saying: "Have you returned well?" They will reply: "Yes, we have returned well."

One villager then gives the *mwini maliro* a pot of water with which he washes the dust off himself. The *mwini maliro* then enters the hut which contains the beer, and draws one cup of beer (the beer will be ready next day). He drinks a small quantity, when he has finished he tells a woman to take this pot outside "that we may now drink it." The other pots will be drunk next day, and any person may then join in the Maliro drinking on that day.

(c) *Chilongamawe.*—1. These piles of stones are called Chilongamawe, a man or a woman adds to these in passing them, because if they fail to do so, they know that they will become impotent or barren.



2. If people are on a journey and they come to fork paths, some one may say let us rest, the travellers will then sit down and rest, talk and laugh. Perhaps one of the party, a man or a woman, may suggest that one of the party is impotent or barren as a joke, the others would then say let us make a pile of stones for him or her so as to avoid non-fertility; such a heap may consist of stones, dried wood, and perhaps earth or dust.

Other people on passing see this heap and add to it so as to avoid the evils of being non-fertile, for it is considered wrong to pass one of these heaps without adding to it. This custom is very old, and the old people explain this by saying, "this is our custom that's all." This is the custom of the Ngoni, Chewa and Senga people.

3. Some Achewa say that they make these heaps of stones so that their wives and female relatives will become fertile and not bear children with the head of the *chidokowe* bird (*Knorhaaw?*), which would happen, should they, when on a journey fail, in passing one of these heaps of stones, to add one to it.

(d) *Eastern Achewa: 'Chinamwali' Ceremony.*—Amongst the eastern Achewa there is an interesting rite towards the latter part of the *chinamwali* ceremony held at the *chilengo* tree towards sunrise. On this tree a large mud image of a leopard, large lizard or crocodile is placed, the image is daubed over with red, black, and white spots to make it look a very fierce animal. During the dance after the *chinamwali* girl has been uncovered and is only wearing an old piece of cloth between the thighs she dances behind the *aphungu* (in a crouching attitude, receiving many slaps and pinches), who are accompanying her in the dance towards the *chilengo*, which is inside a circle of seated women folk. At a given time, the girl's husband appears on the scene, dancing towards the *chilengo* holding either a bow and arrow or an axe, the *aphungu* and *namwali* follow dancing behind him. Mr. A. O. G. Hodgson, in his very interesting paper on the Achewa of the Dowa District, (*J.R.A.I.*, 1933, p. 123), does not mention the *chilengo* tree. When opposite the tree he will either shoot the *chilengo* or strike it with his axe; this procedure is to show the onlookers what a fierce man the husband is, and to warn the onlookers what will be the fate of the man who commits adultery with his wife. At the completion of this part of the ceremony at sunrise the figure is broken up and thrown away by the *Namkungwi*. If the *Namwali* has no husband or fiancé but has a cousin, then her cousin has the right to perform the ceremony, and it is he who would later marry the girl if he wished. If the girl is already married or promised in marriage and her husband is too shy or ashamed to perform the *chinamwali* dance before the women, the husband will approach the *aphungu* beforehand on the matter and the *aphungu* will, if he has a brother, request that brother to take the husband's place and go through the ceremony in his stead. According to custom should the husband die the brother who has participated in the *chilengo* ceremony would then marry his sister-in-law, and this would be upheld by the girl's relatives.

Should the striker at the *chilengo* figure miss his aim this is considered very unfortunate and the husband would not be able to give his wife children, i.e., be impotent; and the girl would be considered an 'unfortunate one.'

This information was obtained during an inquest on a youth named Lundu; this lad received a wound in the skull from the blade of an axe when a native named Eliya (a brother of the husband) was striking at the *chilengo*, which he missed, the top of the axe handle struck the tree and the blade flew out and hit Lundu on the forehead inflicting a wound from which he died. The husband of the girl has since refused to cohabit

with her and declined to allow her to enter his hut; so that she is in truth an 'unfortunate one.'

Taken down from Maliya Mwanza of Mwandauka village, chief Chinunda, Fort Jameson District, Mchewa, native Phungu at the *chinamwali* ceremony held during the month of July, 1934, Northern Rhodesia.

Maliya Mwanza was the mother of Lundu and the senior Phungu at the ceremony. Her evidence of the present-day custom may be accepted as accurate.

D. GORDON LANCASTER.

Fort Jameson, N. Rhodesia.

Inspector of Police.

### The Embryo Position.

SIR,—Mr. G. H. Luquet, discussing in that excellent summary, *L'Art et la Religion des Hommes Fossiles*, the so-called embryo position, concludes: "It is most risky and in certain cases "erroneous to ascribe to primitives, knowledge of the "foetal attitude which in fact, even in our western "civilization, is relatively recent."

But the Indians had detailed knowledge at least as early as 800 B.C. They had names for the membranes of the placenta, and knew the foetal attitude. See *Aitareya Brahmana*, I, 3.

That word 'even' reveals a state of mind which we must get rid of. It seems incredible to the twentieth century European that any one should have known what he does not know, or only got to know recently. If even we only discovered the foetal position recently, then how could early man?

We forget that our anatomy was long hampered by religious ideas. Even now, the only people who can acquire it are students of anatomy. There are no such obstacles in the way of some peoples. Cannibals have excellent opportunities for learning anatomy. It is not necessary, however, to be a cannibal, in order to be hampered by any notions concerning the sanctity of the human body.

Civilization does not mean all gain in knowledge, but loss too. There are children in London who hardly know what a cow is like.

A. M. HOCART.

### Pottery from Ipswich and Swanscombe (cf. MAN, 1934, 195).

SIR,—In regard to the article by Messrs. J. P. T. Burchell and J. Moir 'Upper Palaeolithic "pottery" from Ipswich and Swanscombe' (MAN, 1934, 195), misunderstandings may arise. A not too careful reader might, I feel, imagine that the committee, whose names are given, had already worked at the sites and agreed with Messrs. Burchell and Moir in their interpretations. This is not the case, as the committee has not yet even met. Last summer another and different committee did study certain sites with Mr. Burchell from the purely geological point of view. While they agreed that Mr. Burchell was correct in his claim that a post-coombe-rock deposit containing a levallois industry occurred, they were unable to agree that there was enough geological evidence to affirm that the stony loam overlying the deposit containing the disputed industry with pottery was pleistocene, and the equivalent to the 'trail.' At the moment, then, the age of the pottery cannot be demonstrated on geological grounds; the overlying deposit, which seals it in, cannot be dated. Should the committee named in the article ever function it may indeed come to the conclusion that Messrs. Burchell and Moir are right in their interpretation; but at present, as it has not yet considered the matter, it can obviously say nothing. The matter is *sub judice* and perhaps it would be better for the moment to mark time and 'wait and see.'

M. C. BURKITT.

**Tasmanian Language.** (cf. MAN, 1934, 66.)

**227** SIR.—Since those relatively remote times when English soldiers and travellers perpetrated 'Caramel Hodge' (*Karim-al-Haj*) and 'Sodi-castri' (*Sarasvati*) little reliance can be placed on the phonetics of our pioneers in foreign lands. I was struck by the Tasmanian words for 'ear' given by Mr. Norman Walker (MAN, 66, 1934) as indicating "extraordinary variation in tribal language." *Towrick* and *blatheraway* are both pure 'Hobson-Jobson,' that is to say the approximation of the phonetics of a foreign word to some, usually inappropriate, words in English. *Towrick* would appear to be a final degradation of some word which is also represented by *cowanrigga*, *cuegnilia* and *lewliana*. *Vaigui* and *ouagui* are sufficiently alike to be the same word either with a small dialectal change of pronunciation or recorded by people with different phonetic appreciations.

Some word partaking of the natures of both *pelverata* and *vaigui* could have perhaps produced the egregious *blatheraway*. It is unlikely that more than three, or at the outside four, words are represented by the eight recorded.

D. H. GORDON.  
Small Arms School, Pachmarhi, Central Provinces.

**Nigeria.**

**228** SIR.—The enclosed photographs represent the remains of nine people exhumed and burnt by a certain family in Okporo, a sub-clan of the Orsu clan of the Oru Ibos, Southern Nigeria.

There is no great fear of witchcraft in the clan but many of the major and minor ills in this particular sub-clan are attributed by its diviners (*dibias*) to the action of disappointed or wicked ghosts.

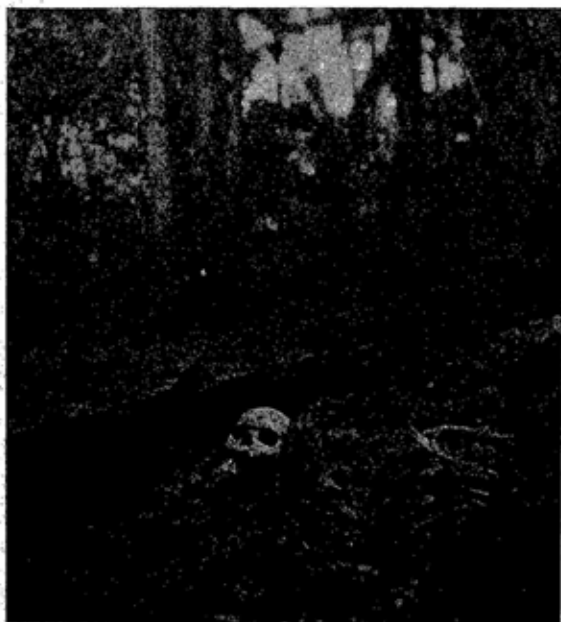
The usual remedy prescribed is the digging up of the earthly remains of the offending ghost from the place

usually those of the skull, are broken in pieces; in the case of exceptionally wicked ghosts the remains are burnt, broken up into powder, and scattered abroad.



What became of the remains shown in the photographs, or what wickedness their ghosts had committed, I cannot tell. I came upon them accidentally one morning in a place where a number of paths met and when I returned a few hours later all traces of them had disappeared and the only thing which marked the spot was a small 'medicine' the purpose of which, I subsequently discovered, was to prevent my taking any action in the matter.

G. L. JONES.  
Okigwi, Owerri Province,  
S. Nigeria.



where these are buried in the compound and the throwing of them away in the 'bad bush' (*aje ohia*)—a portion of unfarmed land reserved for this purpose and usually sacred to some spirit. In some cases the bones, more

**Fear of the Dead.**

**229** SIR.—Dr. Hutton speaks of 'the observed fact' of infection by a diseased corpse, but no such fact could possibly be observed by a savage, however intelligent. It could only be deduced from a series of coincidences, and such deduction would be rendered so difficult as to be almost impossible, by the facts that most diseases are transmitted otherwise and that most corpses are harmless.

Dr. Hutton seems further to suppose that any person with an inquiring mind is capable of making scientific discoveries; he apparently does not realize that the minimum equipment for a scientist must include some training in method and some means of recording observations. Less than two hundred years ago we were completely ignorant of the cause of scurvy, and believed that typhus could be kept at bay with nosegays; it would seem, according to Dr. Hutton, that Newton and his contemporaries had a great deal to learn from the Andamanese.

Dr. Hutton says that human error is largely due to the misapplication of correct observation; I would cite magic as an outstanding example of the fact that human error is due to the complete absence of correct observation.

RAGLAN.







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Its purpose is the study of Mankind in all its various phases. This includes Sociology, Human Biology, Religious beliefs, Rites and Customs, Prehistoric Man, Physical Anthropology, Linguistics, etc.

At its headquarters at 52, Upper Bedford Place, W.C.1, the Institute possesses a very extensive library of works on all the above subjects. Members can consult these books on the premises and also borrow them, provided the books are not removed from the United Kingdom.

Lectures, usually illustrated by lantern slides or films, are given twice monthly, from October to June inclusive, at which the latest facts and discoveries are explained and afterwards discussed, and specimens and drawings are exhibited.

Among the members of the Institute are many well-known explorers, excavators of prehistoric sites, and experts in the various branches of science in which the Institute is interested. The Institute is therefore able to render valuable assistance to all who wish to take up work in foreign lands, and desire to know something about the native populations among whom they will live.

The Institute publishes two periodicals. *THE JOURNAL*, half yearly, contains full reports of the more important lectures and articles from residents in distant parts of the world. *MAN* appears monthly and contains a résumé of current anthropological work, short original articles, reviews of books and correspondence. Both periodicals are well illustrated. The Institute has also issued other publications, which are advertised from time to time in its periodicals.

Membership of the Institute is not confined to experts or specialists, but is open to persons (of both sexes) who are interested in any of the subjects with which it deals.

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The rules require that applications should be supported by two Fellows of the Institute, of whom one should have personal knowledge of the applicant.

Application for membership should be made to the Assistant Secretary, Royal Anthropological Institute, 52, Upper Bedford Place, W.C.1.





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